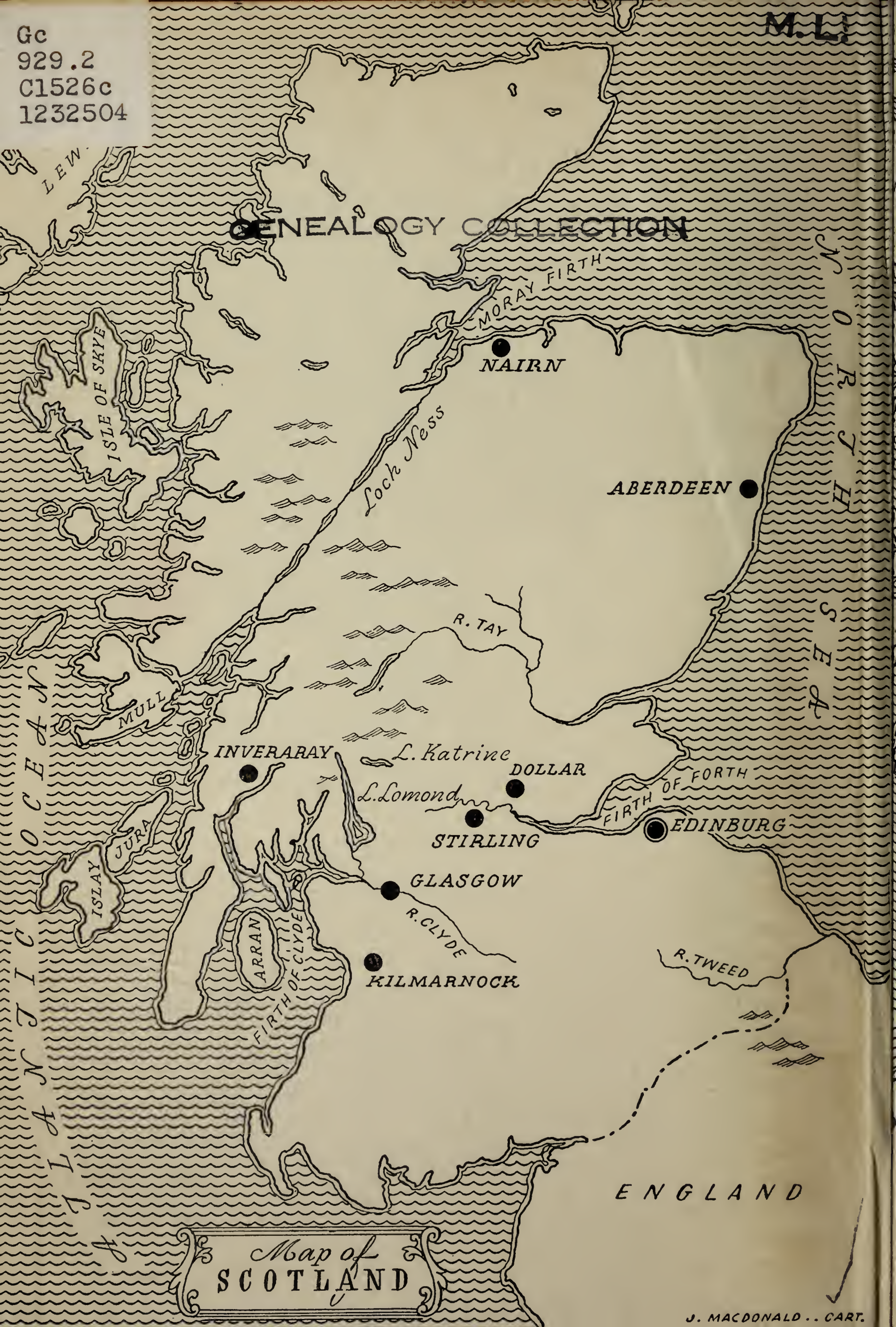




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THE CAMPBELLS ARE COMING



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National Portrait Gallery, London

JOHN CAMPBELL — THE KINGMAKER

Hero of numerous pitched battles, the second Duke of Argyll was a power in Great Britain in the early days of the eighteenth century. Through the influence of his party the Protestant Elector of Hanover was proclaimed King on August 1, 1714. Thus began the procession of Georges on the British throne.

The
CAMPBELLS
Are
COMING

by Glenn H. Campbell



DODD, MEAD & COMPANY
New York 1947

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“Ou, than we may speak it quietly amang oursells.
There’s baith gude and bad o’ the Campbells, like
other names.”

—*Rob Roy*

Mr Selby 2.00

Foreword

WRITERS, especially on historical subjects, are always in superlative debt to their contemporaries and predecessors. Kipling said it best:

An what 'e thought 'e might require,
'E went and took—the same as me!

If picking up literary gold nuggets along the way is stealing, then I am guilty. It matters little where you cut through the history of Scotland, you find a Campbell shining there like a raisin in a slice of fruitcake. I had only to read Scottish history and rearrange what I found to have the story of our clan. I wish to acknowledge my great debt to those who wrote down the details of the unfolding past as they saw it happen.

In addition, I would acknowledge an especial debt to my friend Phil Conley, who insisted that I put on paper some of the tales I told him from time to time of the clan and its part in the affairs of Scotland. He gave me the final push to get me going.

I am greatly indebted also to the History, Biography and Travel Division of the Cleveland Public Library. With only a few exceptions the staff was able to produce any reference I required. With over two and a half million volumes, this library is a deep and wide mine of information; its collection of 25,000 books on Scotland and England is unique. The staff was alert and helpful at all times.

All those who have done creative work know that the day inevitably comes when the task seems hopeless, with no daylight ahead to toll the worker along the dark path on which he has set his feet. An encouraging word at that time is in-

valuable, and this I had from time to time from my cousin Evelyn Campbell and her family. I don't think I would have given up, but without an enthusiastic supporter I might have. Cheerleaders help win football games.

Another bringer of encouraging words was Veronica Hutchinson, an author in her own right and an expert on books. She never failed in her constant interest. Her helpful technical suggestions were priceless and freely given.

Helpful technical suggestions were also made by my long-time friend Tom Beck, of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, who read my manuscript and encouraged me to make the effort to have it published.

Editorial work on the manuscript was done by Ralph G. Platt, who likewise refused to put a price on his friendly and helpful services.

I also had many a lift in the form of editorial suggestions and help from Conklin Mann, a good writer and a genealogist of note.

When I started to unwind the tangled threads of the Campbells, help came from an unexpected source. The people of Scotland seemed determined that I should succeed, and suggestions and material for the book were made available from over the water with a generous hand. Later, when I visited Scotland, the traditional hospitality of that country was poured out to an extent that almost overwhelmed me. I can only list the people and their organizations—all were helpful beyond my fondest expectation.

The Duke of Argyll.

The Earl and Countess of Cawdor.

The Countess of Loudoun.

Clan Campbell Society of Glasgow, Kenneth Campbell, Secretary.

A. Graham, Secretary of Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments.

A. E. Haswell-Miller, Scottish National Portrait Gallery.
Isobel Wylie Hutchison, Honorary Editor, Royal Scottish Geographic Society.
Hugh Paterson, Pier House, Kilmun.
The Scottish Tourist Board, Douglas Russell.
J. Cursiter, Scottish National Art Gallery.
Brigadier General A. D. Buchanan Smith, University of Edinburgh.
Kathleen Armistead, Temple Newsom House, Leeds, England.
Museum of National Antiquities, Edinburgh.

And last but not least, to my immediate family, who put up with my abstraction and neglect of family affairs with good grace, I owe thanks and apologies.

GLENN H. CAMPBELL

*Cleveland, Ohio, U. S. A.,
June 23, 1947.*

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THE CAMPBELLS ARE COMING

CHAPTER I

The Campbells Come Up the Hard Way

IF EVER YOU GO on a fishing trip to Southern Florida, have your boat captain push offshore into the Gulf Stream. It will be only a few miles if you are at Key West and no farther at Miami. You will recognise the stream by the darker color of the water; the line is almost as sharply drawn as if the banks were of earth and stone. There it is, the heating system for the whole British Isles, rolling along across the ocean as independent of the rest of the sea as the Mississippi is independent of the flats and bayous of Louisiana. Reach over the side of the boat, and pat the old fellow on the back; he is the father indirect of all the Campbells. Without the Gulf Stream neither England nor Scotland could exist as we know them; and Argyllshire, if inhabited at all, would be the home of Esquimaux or people of kindred nature. Fortunately, however, the Gulf Stream carries the warmth of sunshine absorbed in the Gulf of Mexico and the Straits of Florida across the Atlantic and saves the day for Scotland and for England. It is one of the imponderables which guide the destiny of mankind and has had a dominant part in the development of the Campbells. In fact we can say with definite assurance: No Gulf Stream, no Campbells.

Put your finger on Inveraray, Argyllshire, Scotland, the center of the Campbell world. Follow the 56th parallel westward across the ocean and you may be surprised to find yourself landing in North Labrador, almost a thousand miles north of Halifax, Nova Scotia. Is it any wonder that the Campbells

of Inveraray find it hard work to feed themselves and their livestock? In spite of the American-made climate, compounded and imported by the Gulf Stream, Scotland is still a northern country, with the cold of the north upon it; Highland sheep and cattle need to be rugged and well covered, as must the north-grown people who tend them. Well have the Campbells profited by the training to which hardhearted Mother Nature has subjected them.

Only the kind Providence that nurtured them knows where lie the bones of all the Campbells. For more than a thousand years men and women of this clan have been coming down from the Highlands as soldiers, sailors, explorers, pioneers and adventurers, and have spread over the face of the earth. Some lodged in England and Ireland, but a big percentage went overseas where they lived, worked, and died in adopted lands, leaving behind them a progeny to whom Scotland is a distant and foreign place.¹

The plain truth of the matter is that at an early date the reproductive power of the Campbells outran the food-producing ability of the patches of soil available to them in their Highland homes. Their answer to this problem was the obvious one: Get out and find a place in the world where a better living can be had and repine not overmuch at the smallness of the home nest.

And so we find that the Campbell clan is made up of people who shoved and jostled along an unbroken line since the dawn of recorded history. We do not say that the Campbells have always been right—we know they have not been. Many a flaw can be found in the record of the clan, but progress

¹ Walter M. McDowell, who has made a study of surnames occurring in the U. S. Census, states that of each 100,000 inhabitants of the United States 166 are named Campbell. Counting the female side and allowing for relatives of other names, there must be close to half a million of the Clan Campbell family in the United States, to say nothing of those in Canada.

through competitive effort has not only made the family strong but has helped build a strong and rugged Scotland.

"Where did the Campbells come from originally?" is a question often asked. They didn't "come" from anywhere. They were there in the Scottish Highlands before the existence of historical records. So far as is known, the foundation stock sprang from the northern "forest dwellers" of early Roman times. There were some Norwegians that broke through and some French who edged in, but if we may call any race "pure," the Highland men come as close to the mark as any in history, largely because the geographic location offered formidable protection against racial infiltration. The name Campbell, however, probably did come into Scotland from over the water, and it was a half-blood Scot in William the Conqueror's army who brought it when the Normans invaded England September 28, 1066.

To begin at the beginning we must go back to a man by the name of Dermaid O'Dwibhne, who is first heard of as fighting the Norwegians in Scotland about 900 A.D. He is reputed to have been a mighty man and a great leader, although that is only a tradition handed down by the family bards—no written records exist. At any rate, he is credited by many with being the founder of a line of strong men who have held a place among the leaders of Scotland for almost a thousand years.

Brown Dermaid, as he was called, was "from," or "of," Dwibhne. That is why the O' is found in O'Dwibhne. His sons, and later generations, were called Dermaid Mac-Dwibhne, the Mac meaning "son of."² The group or clan

² The make-up of Gaelic surnames is explained by George Black in *The Surnames of Scotland*, as follows:

"In the author's opinion all Gaelic surnames (there are strictly speaking no longer any patronymics) ought to be written as one word. As a prefix to a name Mac should never be followed by a capital letter. No Macdonald at the present day is son of one called Donald, for the simple reason that

which followed him is called by some writers Dwibhn Siol, and by others Slioch Dhiarmid MacDhwibhn—the libertarian spelling of the ancient Gaelic³ names is extremely confusing to the uninitiated. Sir Walter Scott, who knew more Highland lore and used it to better purpose than most other writers, refers to the Campbell ancestor Dermaid when he says:

Let the sons of Brown Dermaid who slew the wild boar
Resume the pure faith of the great Collum More.

And that brings us to the first recorded individual exploit of a progenitor of the Campbell clan—the battle of Brown Dermaid with the boar on the side of Mt. Cruachan—a battle which resulted in the death of both. A boar-head on the coat of arms of the Argyllshire Campbells commemorates the event.

The next man in the line was Dairmid MacDwibhne, a grandson of Brown Dermaid. He married Grain, daughter of Chown-Chedchacha, noted for his claim of having participated in one hundred battles.

Grain and this grandson had two sons, one of whom, named Arthur, sired the first of the MacArthurs. The other son was named Malcolm. He went to Normandy and married the heiress of Campus-bellus (also written Campo-bello). In due time they had three sons who all became famous. But the one in whom we are interested was Giolespic Campus-bellus. A man of mixed Scottish and Norwegian blood, he came to Eng-

Donald here has lost its signification as a personal name, and with "Mac" prefixed has become a different surname. Of course as surnames are personal property a man is quite at liberty to spell and write his name as he pleases and etiquette demands that in writing to an individual we address our letter as our correspondent spells and writes it himself."

Since it is customary in the United States to write names with a capital letter following the Mac, a similar system has been used throughout this book.

³ Gael, gaul, gall, are derived from a word meaning stranger, pirate, or rover. Tingall means a Norwegian pirate, Dugall, a Danish one. See Brown, *History of Scotland*.

land as an officer in the army of William the Conqueror and brought the clan name to the Campbells.

Arthur had a son Paul, who was first Sporren (treasurer) to King Duncan of Scotland and, after the interlude caused by Macbeth's usurpation, Treasurer to King Malcolm, Duncan's son. In his official capacity he did sufficiently well to be made Knight of Lochow, with grants of land and money. When he died his daughter Eva, a young child under the tutorship of her paternal uncle, Arthur Cruachan, inherited the estate. Arthur was greatly disturbed because he knew that if his ward married out of the clan her holdings would pass with her. However, at the right moment Giolespic Campus-bellus appeared on the scene to visit his Scottish relatives. He was a somewhat distant cousin, having two great-grandparents in common with Eva; and by their marriage the family bloodlines, as well as the family fortunes, were joined. In due time the son of Eva and Campus-bellus married the daughter of the Thane of Lochow, and this marriage consolidated the holdings of the two prominent families.

The name Campus-bellus gradually changed to Campbell, and eventually the whole clan adopted it. As a clan, however, the Campbells were in the making long before they had the name, for the bloodlines go back beyond any history or trustworthy tradition now extant.⁴

In the history of the early Campbells we must not overlook the fact that there are people who vehemently deny the existence of Campus-bellus and who have written rather extensively to prove their point.⁵ Skene denies it and writes that on

⁴ Those who would derive the Campbells from King Arthur of the Round Table should remember that at best King Arthur is but a bundle of legends. The close kinship of the MacArthurs and the Campbells may have occasioned the confusion.

⁵ Undoubtedly the discussion as to the origin of the Campbell name is at least of two hundred fifty years' standing. In a poem printed in the year

the Ragman's Roll ⁶ the name is spelled Cambel, which to him proves that there was no Campus-bellus. Another argues that the name was once spelled with a K, a matter which seems to have some significance to him. However, a varying consonant or two is nothing to be wondered at in the records of early Scotland. The family name of Robert Bruce was spelled six different ways, including two such unlikely renderings as *Brieux* and *Bruys*.

Compare to this the mangling of the Campbell name in later days. In the records of the American Revolutionary Army preserved, in the Newberry Library in Chicago, Campbell is spelled in thirty-one different ways, varying from Kimel through Cambel, Cambell and even Campbelle. Recruiting sergeants spelling by ear, like the people of more ancient times, did the best they could.

The Marquis of Lorne K. T., onetime head of the Argyll Campbells believes the Campus-bellus origin to be the true one, and points out that previous to the Norman invasion the name was unknown in the British Isles, while it was well established in Normandy. He also points out that the Normans had a policy of intermarriage with the leading families of invaded countries and that the marriage just mentioned would fall into that category.⁷

1705 by George Jaffrey of Edinburgh the following notice of the controversy appeared:

Whether your predecessors first obtain'd
The Campbel's name from martial trophies gain'd
Or 'cause they did the most of men surpass
In a good symmetrie and lovely face,
We wave; since in your name and pedigree
Concenter both good form and chevalrie.

⁶ Ragman's Roll was a parlor game consisting of a scroll with pungent paragraphs written upon it. Opposite each paragraph a string was attached to the border. The scroll was then rolled up and each participant selected a string. When the scroll was unrolled each read his paragraph. The roll of the Scottish landowners with seals attached was said to resemble the rolled up scroll of the game.

⁷ *Adventures in Legend in the Western Highlands*, 1898.

There are those who maintain that the name Campbell is derived from a Gaelic word meaning crooked or arched mouth indicating that some early Campbell had either a perpetual smile or a harelip, but they forget that such personal appellations were not passed on to later generations. Rob Roy meant Red Robert and Roderick Dhu meant Black Roderick, while Longshanks and Shortthumb are obviously descriptive terms and early in the nineteenth century a certain William Campbell was known as Civil Billy because of his fastidious speech and dress. None of these nicknames could apply to more than one person and it is not reasonable to think that the name Campbell is derived from a nickname stemming from a personal characteristic of one individual. The best evidence seems to indicate that although the Campbell stock has been located in Argyllshire since prehistoric times, the name came from Continental Europe with the soldiers of William the Conqueror.⁸

As is usual in history, we find that the standing of the Campbells and the degree of honor and glory accorded them depend to a great extent upon who tells the story. Their friends give them a great building up, their enemies an equally enthusiastic tearing down—there is no middle ground for the Campbells. It is agreed by all, however, that they were a powerful and wily clan and played a great part in Scottish history. They are given first place among the Highlanders for their ability as diplomats and negotiators. In the many early battles between Highland clans, and in the intrigues and alliances which were ever developing at the Court, the Campbells were sufficiently

⁸ Wm. F. Skene, one of the early writers on the Scottish clans, gives very short shift to the Campbells. He flatly states that no such person as Campusbellus ever existed and that the clan stole its beginnings from the Mac-Arthurs. He ends the sketch of the Campbells by declaring their policy one of cunning and perfidy, but fails utterly to provide an origin of the name to replace that of which he would deprive them. See *Highlanders of Scotland*.

sagacious to be found almost always on the winning side. A second characteristic, which had equal if not greater bearing on the growth and power of the clan, was the belief that falling in love with a woman endowed with plenty of property and good connections was just as easy as falling in love with one of lesser dower interest, and far more sensible. A considerable portion of the Campbell holdings came as the result of well-placed marriages.

A third quality, without which the first two would have been almost, or entirely, ineffective, was the willingness of the Campbells to toe the line and back their verbal claims with their arms. They would talk their way through if they could, but they were there with the "rough stuff" if necessary. As a result, for centuries they were regarded by their competitors as vicious—which seems to have made not an ounce of difference to them. In a rough, tough country where at best a living came hard, they walked stiff-necked among neighbors who asked no odds and gave none; and in a thousand years of history there is no authentic record of the Campbells' apologizing when they thought they were in the right. For that matter there are not very many apologies recorded even when they were proved to be wrong.

During the early centuries of Campbell development, except for the spoils of war, the natural products of the sea and the land were the Highlanders' only sources of income. There were no "jobs," as we know the word, no industry with payrolls and no chance to earn, except in domestic service or as a hired worker on the soil; and such employees got little more than their keep. In later days there was "the Queen's shilling" for the soldier but not even that for a Highlander in the very early times.

Various clans felt the heavy hand of the Campbells as the latter extended their territory. Notable among them were the Lamonts, the McNabs and the McNaughtons, while the Mac-

Dougals, the MacDonalds, the MacArthurs and the Sinclairs each contributed an unwilling share to the Campbell domain and the unfortunate MacGregors contributed most heavily of all. As Frank Adam has put it in his book *Clans, Septs⁹ and Regiments of the Scottish Highlanders*:

“‘The Campbells Are Coming’ has more than once in history sounded the death knell of inconvenient rivals of the Clan. For when the Campbells came, they usually came to stay.”

On the other hand, it is fair to say that the Campbells contributed heavily toward the stabilization of their country and the development of its government. Thomas Stevenson writes:¹⁰

“No family in Scotland of similar antiquity, (for from the time of Bruce the descent is clear) can produce so long a catalog of men equally eminent.”

The Campbells ascended to their high place in the kingdom over a course strewn with murders, raids, wholesale killings, wars and burnings at the stake along with other types of human misery including beheading, torture, rape, and arson. Some of this violence the Campbells suffered and some they inflicted, but all of it was part of the procedure of the times in which they lived. As civilization advanced in humanity and ethics the Campbells also advanced. Neither moved much ahead of the other, and both were conditioned by the cruel environment of the early days on the British Isles.

What racial bloodlines went into the making of the Campbells is not known for certain although there has been much speculation. The aborigines of Scotland were the Picts. Combined with them were also bands of people known as Celts (sometimes called Scots), who came over at an early date from the mainland of Europe, made their way through Ireland

⁹ A sept is a branch of the family related by blood but of a different name. There are 44 families sufficiently close in relationship to be permitted membership in the Clan Campbell Society of Scotland.

¹⁰ *The Book of the Thames of Cawdor.*

into Scotland, and mingled with the Picts. One of the chief Celtic settlements was in what is now Argyllshire, which leads us to believe that the original Campbells had a good share of Celtic blood. The Romans called these dwellers in the Highlands Caledonians (forest dwellers), and the name is preserved today by the famous Caledonian Canal in Scotland and by New Caledonia Island in the southwest Pacific.

The Romans who began invading Britain in 55 B.C. and started to conquer it some 90 years later, apparently never penetrated into the Campbell country. In 80 A.D., when Agricola, the famous general, had pushed the boundaries of Roman-held territory northward beyond the present sites of Glasgow and Edinburgh, he called a halt, began building a huge wall with deep ditches entirely across the island from Solway Firth to the River Tyne (a stretch of 70 miles), and named it after the Roman Emperor Hadrian who was the ruler at the time. The first wall apparently was not enough for about 20 years later another, called the wall of Pius, was built, which ran from the River Forth to the Clyde. The first wall was started in the year 122 A.D. and even though it is over eighteen hundred years old remains of it can still be seen, for it was built solidly and the ditches were deep.

Certainly the Romans had a reason for this crosscountry building. The walls stand as very substantial evidence that the frontier was an active one and the Caledonians a people to be feared. The chronicles of the times describe their warfare as a swift attack, a sharp fight, and a quick retreat—a sort of hit-and-run strategy that is typical of tribes the world over at a certain stage of their development.

For over three hundred years, the situation stood as a stalemate, with perhaps only one real attempt by the Romans to invade Highland Scotland—an expedition into the hills resulting in a bloody battle from which the Grampian Hills got their name.

The departure of the Romans from the British Isles about 400 A.D. was the final triumph for the tough boys of the Scottish country. For a period of years longer than the time between the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth Rock and the beginning of the second World War the ancestors of the present Scots had stood off the famous Roman Legions, conquerors of most of the known world. The Romans never came back, and they left no descendants in the Highlands to mingle their blood with that of the natives. The hardy characteristics of the Highland clansmen are of long standing and bred in the bone.¹¹

It was another four hundred years before Scotland began to be organized as a nation. In the meantime, two very important things happened. The first, in point of time, was that the Scots were exposed to Christianity. Missionaries crossed over from Ireland and by the year 600 A.D., the new religion was getting entrenched. The first five centuries of Highland history are entirely concerned with heathens—there wasn't a Christian between John O'Groats and the Clyde till about 500 A.D. Just when the Campbells were converted is not known, but eventually they became Roman Catholics along with the rest of the Scottish people and remained so till the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Campbells led the swing to Protestantism in their section of Scotland.

The second important event occurred about 750 A.D., when the Swedes and Norwegians came down upon the Caledonians with fire and sword; and intermittently, for over five hundred years, they left a trail of dead men and burned homes, to say nothing of a flock of white-headed children who eventually

¹¹ A palm reader once took a look at my hand and said it was the hand of the most stubborn man she had ever seen. I told her the Campbells had been over a thousand years making that hand for me and that a lot of mighty hard living had gone into the job, but she knew nothing about genetics and didn't understand what I was driving at.

were worked into the mix and became ancestors of a lot of good Scottish men and women.

This invasion started along the west and north coasts, where the Orkney Islands and the Hebrides were taken and held as bases of operations. Then the territory of Caithness in North Scotland was overrun and other inroads were made along the western coast. It was at the end of the eleventh century, according to the Marquis of Lorne,¹² that the Norse King, Magnus, claimed for Norway the peninsula Kintyre, later a Campbell holding. Magnus stipulated that he should have all the land around which he could take a keeled ship. He sailed down the east coast of Kintyre, and then up the west coast; and then he dragged his vessel overland from West Loch Tarbert to Loch Fyne and declared that he had been around Kintyre, which was therefore his own.

The Norwegians are mentioned in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* as opponents of King Duncan, but when Macbeth came to the Scottish throne he made a treaty and lived in peace with them. Certainly the invaders made their way well into the Scottish Highlands and ruled a large section of the country as well as the islands along the north and west coasts. Being a hardy race they fitted well with the people they found there, and while there is no proof that the Campbells acquired any admixture of Scandinavian blood, there is every possibility that they may have.

And so the Campbells, building on a solid foundation, grew and expanded until in time there were four Campbell families¹³ in Scotland, each with its own traditions and its distinctive plaid. While they disagreed at times on matters of policy and politics, especially in the rebellion of 1715, when there were Campbells on both sides, yet they stuck together remarkably well and, as a result of mutual helpfulness, ex-

¹² Op. Cit.

¹³ The Campbells of Argyll; of Breadalbane; of Cawdor; and of Loudoun.

panded widely. There came a time when the Campbells ruled for the King, and collected rents from a territory that reached from sea to sea.

In the year 843 Kenneth MacAlpin stood upon the Stone of Destiny at Scone¹⁴ and was crowned King of Scotland—the first move to draw all of Scotland together into one country. However, it was then only a symbolic gesture, for Scotland was still divided into hundreds of factions made up of men accustomed to supreme authority in their own territories and not at all inclined to give way to a central government. Only by gaining the good will of the local rulers and persuading them to support him could a king have anything that approached a national government. The job of building Scotland into a nation was long drawn out and the Campbells played an important part in the process.

This family came to an early realization that if it was to be influential in the affairs of the nation its members must look beyond their own little valleys with a broadening viewpoint. Because of this changed attitude, many of their clan neighbors looked upon them as traitors to their Highland traditions, but the Campbells went their own way to high places in the kingdom and to a break with the Catholic Church, giving little heed to what others might think. They were among the first to realize the need for a union with England as a cure for the constant warfare between the two countries; and for their foresight and leadership they received just rewards. With it all they were human, with all the faults and foibles of human nature, and many a mistake was made as they proceeded to

¹⁴ The Stone of Scone, on which MacAlpin was crowned, is probably the most famous piece of unshaped rock in the world. It was stolen from Scotland by King Edward I in 1296 and is now in Westminster Abbey. It rests on a shelf under the seat of the chair where the Kings and Queens of England are crowned. It carries the tradition that a man with Scottish blood in his veins will come to be ruler of any country that holds it. When a Scot went finally to rule Britain he found the stone awaiting him.

intertwine their history with that of Scotland. To sum it all up, let me say this:

If you admire thrift, sagacity, and hardheaded aggressiveness, you will get along with the Campbells, especially if you have no aversion to a wee drop of Scotch now and then, and if you can recognize character and worth even when found—as occasionally happens—in individuals of dubious or unknown paternity.

Note to Chapter I:

SEPTS AND DEPENDENTS OF CLAN CAMPBELL

When the Highland clans were battling among themselves for dominance it was necessary for the weaker clans to look to their stronger neighbors for protection. Many of them chose the Campbells as their sponsors, swore allegiance to the head of the Campbells and supported his cause, whatever it might be. They participated in the affairs of the Campbells but did not share the name. They intermarried with them, however, and have much Campbell blood in their veins. The following families are entitled to membership in the Clan Campbell Society of Scotland, with headquarters in Glasgow:

Campbell of Argyll
Campbell of Cawdor

Campbell of Breadalbane
Campbell of Loudoun

Septs and Followers

MacArthur, MacCartair, MacCarter, MacConnechy, MacConnachie, MacDermid, MacDiarmid, MacGibbon, Macglasrich, MacHawis, MacIsaac, MacIver, MacIvor, MacKellar, MacKessok, MacKissock, MacLiver, MacNichol, MacOran, MacOwen, MacPedran, MacTause, MacTavish, MacUre, MacVicar. Arthur, Bannatyne, Burns, Burness, Caddell, Calder, Connachie, Hawes,

Haws, Hawse, Hawson, Loudoun, Tawesson, Thomas, Thomason, Thompson, Thomson, Ure. (Dr. Robert B. Whyte, Pastor of Old Stone Presbyterian Church on the Public Square in Cleveland, an authority on Scottish literature, states that Robert Burns, the poet, was a close relative of the Argyll Campbells.)

The Clan Campbell Society of Scotland has headquarters in Glasgow at 67 Woodend Drive, Jordan Hill. Kenneth Campbell is secretary.

In America the Campbell Clan is represented by Mary Latham Norton, 7507 Holly Street, Oakland 3, California. Mrs. Norton issues a publication.

CHAPTER II

The Campbells Back a Winner and Make Great Progress

ARGYLL TO THE CAMPBELLS means their own people, and Argyllshire means home. Argyll is the name under which the Campbells fought and died on many a bloody field and the name by which many of their great men are referred to in history. Argyllshire is the very core and center of the Campbell world, and from that ancient stamping ground the names Argyll and Campbell have been carried to all the corners of the earth. Do not be surprised if, in walking the streets of some city of the United Kingdom or of the United States, you come upon one of these names: it simply means that a Campbell has been there before you and left his mark.

To understand the Campbells you should visit Argyllshire. Go there and tramp its hills and glens; visit the ancient homes and fortalices; feel the rocky dignity of the mountains towering over the glens and straths that lead down to the cold waters of the lochs. Argyllshire is the rough and rugged mold which has shaped the Campbells.

About eight miles from the head of Loch Awe in Argyllshire—a little over half a mile from the old Dalavich church—lies a beautiful islet called Inishchonell. Known better today as Port Sonnachan, it is the site of a castle. Those who are interested in following the Campbells back to their source need go no further—this is the first piece of real estate known to be held by the Campbells and here, in the eleventh century or earlier, the ancestors of the clan made their first organized beginnings, so far as we know.

The location of this strong point in the waters of the Awe gave rise to the clan's most ancient title. Only a little slurring of the words "Loch Awe" made possible "Knight of Lochow," while the byword of the Campbells, "it's a far cry to Lochow," indicates the relative remoteness of the stronghold in ancient times.

Alongside Loch Awe, Ben Cruachan¹ looks down on the cradle of the Campbells with the same serenity that has characterized this landmark during nearly one thousand years of Campbell occupancy, while to the northeast the Orchy River, flowing down its glen, has made Glenorchy the habitable valley that in time became the cradle of the Breadalbane Campbells. Fourteen miles to the southeast, over the mountains and near the head of Loch Fyne, lies Inveraray, which very early became the home of the leader of the Campbells of Argyll, and is to this day the Mecca to which all Campbells turn if they know their family history. No matter how far out on a limb of the family tree a Campbell may be, he traces back finally to the Argyll Campbells who had their historical genesis on the little island in Loch Awe.

From Oban and Glenorchy in the north to Campbeltown² at the southern end of Kintyre is close to one hundred miles, and Campbell country all the way. The sea has its salty fingers on it and with the lochs, helps give the land a scenic beauty which has made it one of the favorite vacation grounds of Scotland; while the herring and salmon of the waters have yielded full tribute to the Campbell larders. The hills

¹ *Cruachan* (Gaelic), cone-shaped mountain.

² There are two Campbeltowns in Scotland. The less important of the two lies on the shore of Moray Firth in Invernesshire. It was a burgh of barony under the Earl of Cawdor and takes its name from the Campbells of Cawdor. The other Campbeltown lies at the head of Campbeltown Loch on the east side of Kintyre, not far from the southern end of the peninsula. It was once a great fishing and shipping center, with close to a thousand ships entering the harbor in 1880. It was long a source of mariners for the English Navy and is the capital and principal city of a rich agricultural section.

are steep and rocky. Sure-footed sheep, scatter and feed over the sides of the mountain, giving the appearance of little white boulders. It can well be seen that the Campbell who would fetch them must be sure-footed and strong of wind and limb, without fear of darkness or storm.

In the southeastern section of Argyllshire, just opposite to where the mouth of the Clyde empties into the Firth, is Kilmun on the shore of Holy Loch.³ Here the Campbells have long buried their famous dead, including a marquis whose body was returned to the home burial ground while his head remained for three years on a spike on the roof of the Edinburgh Tolbooth. On the Firth just below Kilmun is Dunoon, where the Campbells had a castle in the olden days. Here, in 1646, they assembled a group of luckless Lamonts and hanged them in the garden. Dunoon was granted to Colin Campbell by royal charter in 1472 and in 1544 was under siege by the Stewarts, commanded by the Earl of Lennox. Lennox won, but the Campbells had their castle back in time to entertain Mary, Queen of Scots, when she came visiting them twenty years later. Castle Dunoon is gone now, with not one stone standing above the other. The curse of the Lamonts, some say.

There is Campbell history in every nook and corner of the territory and a Campbell story at every turn of the road. Here the job of making a strong, outstanding family was carried forward from very small beginnings; many an "empire builder" got his start in a little town in Argyllshire.

The Campbells were not always the dominant family in this picturesque but sparsely productive country. All around them were other clans, each striving for enough room to make a living, and in the twelfth century some of them were much stronger than the Campbells. The details of these ancient

³ So named because here was sunk a shipload of sand from the Holy Land destined for use in the construction of the collegiate church or monastery supported in early times by the Campbells at Kilmun.

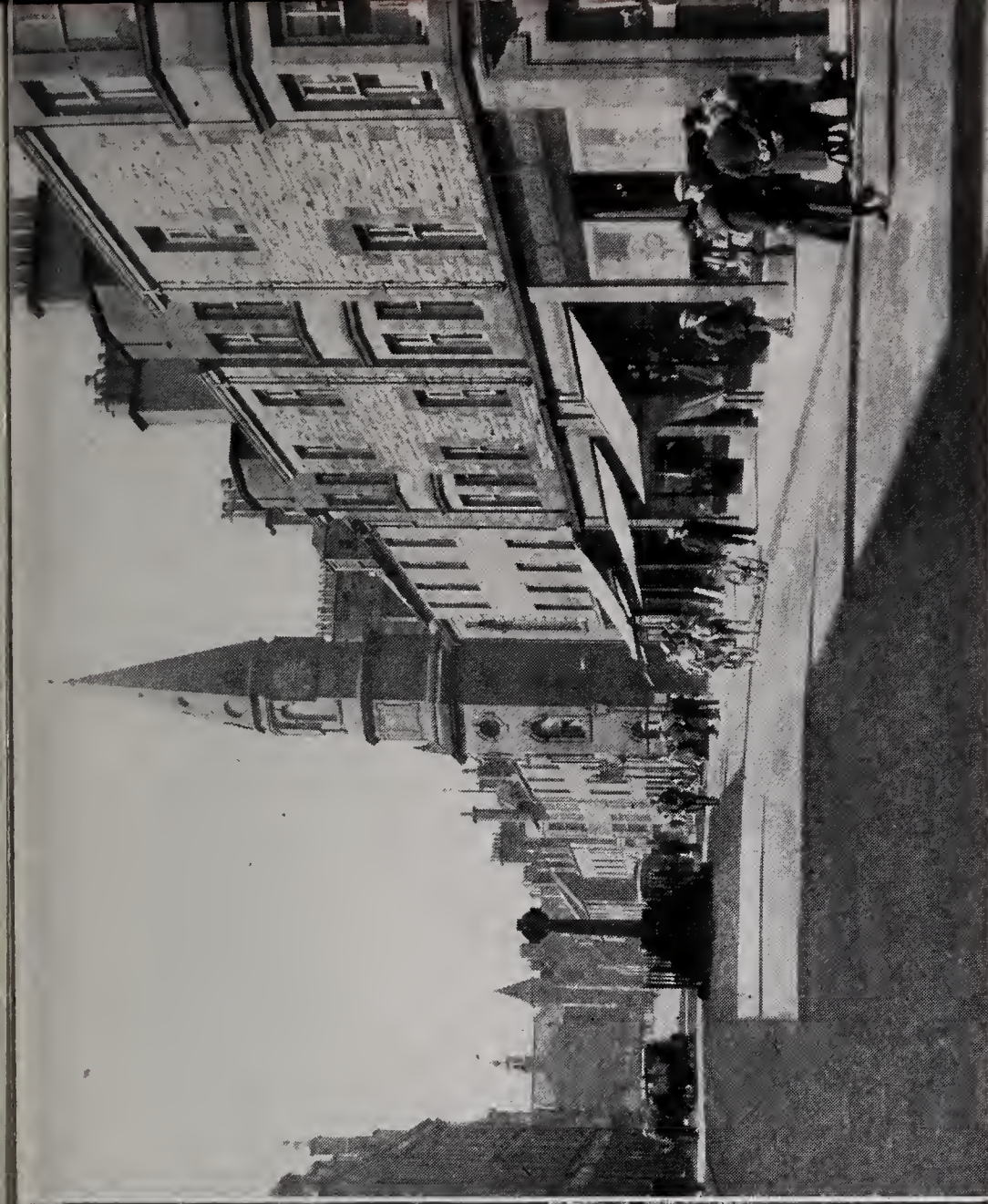


KILMUN, BURIAL PLACE OF CAMPBELLS

At one side of the parish church at Kilmun is the vault where the Campbells have placed their famous dead. On a center dais just inside the vault door rest nine coffins containing the ashes of six dukes and three duchesses.

Kilmun stands on the shore of Holy Loch, so called because a shipload of sand from the Holy Land destined for building operations at the church was wrecked centuries ago and a part of the sand lost on the loch.

Campbeltown was taken from the MacDonalds and given to the Campbells who named it after themselves, leaving out one "L" in so doing. There is another Campbeltown in Scotland which lies far to the north, near Morey Firth where the Cawdor branch of the family has made its influence felt.



MAIN STREET, CAMPBELTOWN

Valentine

quarrels are unknown, but enmities were built which became traditional; and as we come to the days of recorded history we find in progress what amounted to intermittent civil war.

By the time the Campbells began organizing, the MacDonalds already had important holdings in Argyllshire and near-by islands and were formidable rivals of the new family. The MacDonald clan leader carried the added title—self-imposed—of “Lord of the Isles,” and maintained the privilege of operating his own navy and of making treaties under his own name, separate and apart from any international agreements entered into by the Scottish central government. This situation was ready-made for the growing Campbell clan whose leaders saw that it would pay to side with the Scottish government against the MacDonalds. Thereupon they were made the official representatives of the King, charged with enforcing the edicts of Parliament, a service for which they were well paid. The MacDonalds have always considered the Campbells interlopers and to this day many a MacDonald would prefer not to shake hands with a Campbell.

The MacDonalds, it must be admitted, have a record for producing brave and brilliant men. Had they been willing to join the government in its attempts to solidify the nation, their place in Scottish history might well have been much more important and as Scotland came to maturity they, instead of the Campbells, might have been chosen for the high places. Their mistake lay in constantly harking back to the days when the MacDonalds were supreme in their own little empire, forgetting that time marches on and that people must grow and adapt themselves as history unfolds.

Another neighboring family which resisted change with all its might was the Clan MacDougal. This was an offshoot of the MacDonalds, named for the MacDonald son who founded it—Dugall, son of Somerled,⁴ Lord of the Isles. The struggle

⁴ From Sumarlidhi, Norse for mariner.

with this family was soon over. It ended with the complete triumph of the Campbells when Bruce besieged and took the Castle of Dunstaffnage in 1308, soon after his victory over the MacDougals in the Bradner pass of the Awe. Bruce gave the castle to Sir Archibald Campbell of Loch Awe to hold as a strong point in the west for the Bruce government. After that the MacDougals were never again an important factor in the Campbell country.⁵

Where the Orchy and Strae rivers come into Loch Awe at the foot of Ben Cruachan there is a rocky elevation which is peninsula or island as the height of the water may determine. This became the site of the Campbell Castle of Kilchurn, but was once the stronghold of the Patersons, who lost it to the MacGregors. The story of the MacGregors is one of constant misery and defeat at the hands of the Campbells. The taking of the MacGregor country is not a bright spot in Campbell history. The disasters that came upon the MacDonalds and the MacDougals in their struggles with the Campbells can be looked upon as the fortunes of war. They "asked for it," but the MacGregors were betrayed.

One branch of the Stewarts were also neighbors of the Campbells and, for the most part, the two families worked in close harmony in the making of Scotland. Except for occasional differences soon patched up, the Campbells fought for centuries shoulder to shoulder with the Stewarts and not until the Jacobite days did they come to the final parting of the ways. The Campbell-Stewart story is a long one and the association was fortunate for both.

There are Campbell castles and sites of former strongholds scattered all through Argyllshire from Barcaldine and Dun-

⁵ When driving through the pass in 1946 I was interested to note that just ahead was a bus of the MacDougal Line. It was impossible to pass it on the narrow road and we followed along, meditating that perhaps here the MacDougals were having the last word after all.

staffnage in the north to Dunaverty on the southern headland of Kintyre. These gave the Campbells what the military men call a "defense in depth." If they lost one strong point they were in position to fall back to another.

These castles were places of retreat for the surrounding country. They were usually built with windows high up in the walls and once the families of the retainers were safely inside, their enemies could do little except besiege them and destroy everything left at home in the cottages of the common folk. Usually such strong points were built where nature gave an advantage, as on a rocky hill or where water made approach difficult. Castle building in the early days was a grim business, a preparation for bloody warfare, and not a social matter as we sometimes are led to believe by poets and writers of sentimental novels.

If you had dropped into Inveraray on the banks of Loch Fyne in 1292—just two hundred years before Columbus discovered America—you would have found the Campbells making progress. The clan was still small, its position remote, its enemies numerous. It was an advantage, in one way, to be hidden away in the southwest Highlands out of the path trodden by the English in their raids and invasions, but the site had the disadvantage of being far from help if beset by some rival clan which might come over the mountain at any time of the day or night, activated by hunger, a perverse nature, or a desire for more land and cattle.

It was everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost in those days, for the central government was hardly worthy of its name. King Alexander III had died, leaving only a young girl to inherit his crown. There had been a great rush to seize the throne and in the squabbles which ensued the constituent parts of Scotland broke apart like a jigsaw puzzle. To add to the uncertainties, the English government decided that the time had arrived to rule Scotland.

There was talk of marrying the Scottish princess to the English heir and combining the two governments, but when she died (probably a violent death), the last hope of peace was gone. Scotland was ruled regionally; the Campbells were supreme in their own little spot of territory and the same was true of hundreds of families.

Most of the men who aspired to the throne had holdings abroad and were vassals of either the King of England or the King of France. The Bruce family had estates in Carrick and in France. Baliol was a Picard of France and received his name from his estate there—Bailleux. In fact, of the thirteen contestants for the Scottish throne only one was a Scot, and he was given very little consideration. The royal families of that day were sort of itinerant professionals who made ruling a business and crowded in wherever they found a place they could 'organize.' Americans today will wonder how such leadership could have been tolerated, but it was a condition of the times and accepted, just as the world later accepted international bankers and munition makers who dealt with both sides. There are vestiges of this system still to be found in the governments of Europe.

To further confuse the picture, the Church was then a militant body. Bishops commanded castles and rode at the head of their troops in battle. The attitude of the Pope was a large factor in national and international affairs and some one was always running to him to have a political rival excommunicated. At that time the Church in both Scotland and England was Catholic and the clergy were strong in attendance and highly vocal at political meetings. Most soldiers served for the plunder which constituted a large part of their pay and which made warfare burdensome to the common people, especially those on the losing side.

Immediately upon the death of the "Maid of Norway," as Alexander's daughter was called, all Scotland began choosing

sides for the inevitable struggle. But it was again a peculiar condition of the times that he who had once been chosen was not necessarily "in" for the duration. At times the minor leaders, in their desire to be with the winner, changed sides even while riding down the road. For example, a group of horsemen supporting the English side under Sir Laurence Abernethy, was late to the battle of Bannockburn. Meeting another party on what was supposed to be English-held ground they inquired where the forces of King Edward were stationed. The second group, led by a Douglas, replied that the King was defeated and fleeing for his life. "Well then we will join you and help hunt," the leader of the English group replied.

Just when the Campbells cast in their lot with the Bruce family is not clear but Colin Campbell of Argyll, who had been knighted by King Alexander III, was a strong supporter of the elder Robert Bruce when the latter laid claim to the vacant throne of Scotland in 1291; and the Campbells never wavered through the terrible ups and downs of the Bruce era. Bruce had the support of most of the political leaders of the day and a few of the clergy; while most of the clergy and several leaders of powerful clans such as the Rosses and the Buchans were on the side of Baliol, Bruce's principle competitor.

To avoid bloodshed, King Edward I of England was asked to make the choice. Edward was ambitious to rule Scotland either directly, or indirectly through a Scottish king who would take orders; and he designated Baliol. Bruce resigned all claims he might have to the Scottish throne to his grandson, Robert, Earl of Carrick, and died soon after; and Baliol mounted the throne. After the first round it looked as if the Campbells had guessed wrong.

Like many a candidate who sounds plausible when asking for support before election, but "runs away" when once

safely in office, Baliol was soon refusing to take orders from the King of England. Within three years there was open warfare between England and Scotland; Edward moved against Scotland with an army and the Bruces joined forces with him in accordance with their oath of fealty. Soon Baliol was defeated and Edward crushed the remaining Scottish opposition.

In the year 1296 King Edward held parliament at Berwick, receiving homage from some two thousand Scottish landowners who set down their names as recognizing in him the lawful sovereign of Scotland. This list of names is part of the famous Ragman's Roll on which the Campbell name was improperly spelled. It was in that year also that the Stone of Scone was seized and taken to London along with everything else that the English could get their hands on, including a great part of the Scottish state papers and records, which they lost; and thus they added to the burden of those who would try to understand and write about the events of that time. Baliol and his family were part of the spoil taken out of the country as prisoners of war. He never again was a factor in Scottish politics.

The year 1296 was especially significant in Campbell history, for that was the year that Colin Campbell was killed at a place called String of Lorne in a battle with some of the forces of the Lord of Lorne (the MacDougals). He was buried at Kilchrenan on Lochawe in the church of St. Peter the Deacon, where his marker can still be seen. The title of Lord of Lorne eventually passed to the Campbells, but it came by way of the Stewarts and not directly from the MacDougals.

Sir Colin called "Mor," meaning big or great, was undoubtedly the man who put the foundation under the fortunes of the Clan Campbell. The designation of the family is rendered MacCailein Mor, meaning Sons of Colin Campbell the Great,

and great he was in deciding that Bruce was eventually to be the winner. Perhaps his weight helped to swing the decision, but nevertheless only a bold and steadfast man would have seen it through.

Colin greatly enlarged the holdings of the Campbells and by becoming the sponsor of Bruce the Competitor, and the friend of Bruce the Younger, opened the way for his own son to complete the work of making the Campbells one of the supreme families in their part of Scotland. Colin left six children when he was killed, the eldest, Neil,⁶ succeeding him.

The small landowners and the common people who were robbed right and left by the invading soldiers greatly resented the English rule, which was set up after Baliol was taken out of the country, and a "rising" was soon under way, led by William Wallace, son of a landowner who up to that time had made no claim to authority. His army was drawn from all parts of Scotland, including Argyllshire, which Neil Campbell, forgetting the confession of homage on the Ragman's Roll, held for him. Neil fought a victorious battle on the Awe and was able to stand off the opposition till help came. Among his opponents were the inevitable MacDougals.

Wallace's army defeated the English with considerable slaughter at Stirling Bridge and for a year he ruled Scotland under the title of "Guardian of the rights of John Baliol." Within a year (1305), Edward came back with another army and defeated Wallace, who was captured, tried, and sentenced as a traitor. He died a wretched if official death—hanged, drawn and quartered.

This method of execution meant that the victim was first strung up by the neck, the hangman being careful not to

⁶ "Sir Neil Campbell of Lochow, who is reckoned the eighth generation of the race of Campbell, or Cambell, as the name is invariably written in the earliest charters, warmly supported the interest of King Robert the Bruce."—*Great Britain Historical MSS Commission*, IV, 470.

choke him to death. While he still lived certain prominent appendages were sliced off and stuffed into his mouth, then his abdomen was slit open and his bowels torn from his living body. After that he was let down and his body cut in four parts. In the case of Wallace, each quarter was displayed in a different part of the city, in order to intimidate and humiliate his friends and followers. The longer the victim lived during such a cutting up process, the more successful the hanging, and Wallace's hanging was voted a first-rate spectacle. Common hanging, which meant stringing a man up till he choked to death, was reserved for sheep stealers and lesser offenders against the law. One ancient hanging and drawing is described as being especially successful because the victim stood and fought his executioners after he was let down, with his entrails hanging around his feet.

Not all the cruelty in this war was reserved for the leaders. Captured bowmen were incapacitated for further service by having their right eye put out and the right forefinger cut off so that they could neither hold an arrow to the string nor aim it accurately. Massacres were visited upon the people of the towns where the English Army met resistance, a notable example being Berwick, then the largest city of Scotland. Here the invaders raped, robbed and killed for two days. The object was to overcome all opposition through fear, but the effect was to build a foundation for a united Scotland.

Then Robert Bruce, the grandson of the original Bruce, led an uprising against the English. The Campbells, who had resisted the invaders at all times, supported him. But being a supporter of Robert Bruce was no bed of roses. Edward I was angry through and through, as strong leaders are likely to be when refused their way. He had connived and fought to get control of Scotland, and those opposing him were endangering their own necks and bowels as well as the safety of every one associated with them. Bruce was sure to be harried

by the English, which was bad enough, but as he was young and hot-tempered his next move upset the applecart completely and just about ruined what little chance he might have had of winning his fight.

The trouble arose at a meeting between Bruce and Comyn, a nephew of Baliol. They were undoubtedly the leading contenders for the Crown, whenever Scotland could be cleared of the English; but since Bruce had sworn fealty to Edward and had served on the English side against Scotland, Comyn had considerable ground for advancing his claim as the most likely contender; and certainly he had ground for recrimination against the family which had helped dethrone his uncle. The meeting was held in the church of the Franciscans of Dumfries. It broke up in a fight in which Comyn was either stabbed or hit over the head—the story is told both ways. When Bruce came out of the church he said he had wounded Comyn but was not sure whether he had injured him fatally; whereupon a follower said that such a thing must not be left in doubt, rushed into the church, and finished off the rival then and there.

A terrible uproar followed. The wrath of the leaders of the Baliol and Comyn factions came down upon Bruce full force and the Pope excommunicated him for desecrating the sanctity of a church. At one swoop Bruce lost the support of both the Church and many of the strongest families of Scotland. This act insured a strong pro-English party in Scotland which would hunt him from one end of the country to the other with the help of the English Army. In a moment of bad temper Bruce lost the entire support of the one group which had been fighting for years to keep Scotland a separate country, so he was almost alone as soon as the story of the killing of Comyn became known. Outside of his own relatives, a few of the Douglas fire-eaters, and Neil Campbell and his band of

armed Campbells in the western Highlands, Bruce had no followers.

The English moved an army into Scotland and Bruce was forced to make up his mind quickly to run or fight. His answer was characteristic of a strong man. He proceeded promptly to Scone where, with the aid of a few friends, he had himself crowned King of Scotland March 27th, 1306. Neil Campbell put the final touch to his fate by assisting at the ceremony. Few who participated in that crowning died a natural death.

If the killing of Comyn had put the fat in the fire, then the crowning of Bruce at Scone set the whole kitchen ablaze. It was war to the death. Edward appointed the Earl of Pembroke Governor of Scotland (he was the dead Comyn's brother-in-law) and ordered a traitor's death for all the leaders on Bruce's side, and the beheading of any retainers found in arms. Pembroke surprised Bruce at Methuen and almost destroyed his force but King Robert escaped, and with him his brother Edward, Neil Campbell, Douglas, Hay, and a few others. The rest of his leaders were taken and executed, some being "drawn" and others given just a plain hanging. Thus, within three months of his crowning, Bruce was in flight as an outlaw with a price on his head, Neil Campbell along with him and the fortunes of all the Campbells up behind.

In outlawing Bruce, King Edward fairly outdid himself, for he outlawed not only Bruce and his men but also their female relatives, who were thus exposed to any danger that could possibly befall womenfolk. For protection the women joined the fleeing party, which was an added handicap to the flight. Included in the party were Bruce's wife, daughter, and sister Mary. Somewhere along the line Mary Bruce and Neil Campbell were married, and in due time had a son John.

Realizing that it would be very difficult to escape with the women, Bruce placed them in the castle of Kildrummie in

the care of his brothers and other leaders and went on his way. It was eight years before he saw them again. The castle was attacked by the English and burned out, the brothers were killed and the women captured and confined in latticed rooms or cages in various castles. Mary Bruce (Campbell) was shut up at Roxburgh for several years, and it is known that she was a prisoner at Newcastle as late as 1312. Just when she was released is not known, but Bruce's wife and child were not released till after the battle of Bannockburn.

In the meantime Neil Campbell had headed for the Argyll country where he could operate on his home ground among people he could trust. His mission was to obtain boats capable of transporting Bruce and his men out of Scotland, for the country was definitely too hot to hold them.

Bruce followed with about two hundred men, living off the country and carefully avoiding conflict. Finally they arrived at the west coast, where Neil Campbell had brought together ships and supplies for the King's party. So hot on the trail were the English that the Scots were forced to leave their baggage behind.

Whether or not Neil went along into exile is not clear, although in 1661, when the eighth Earl of Argyll (Archibald Campbell) wished to improve his standing with Charles II, he wrote a long letter to His Majesty recounting the many things done for the benefit of the Crown and in this letter he wrote as follows concerning the part Neil played during Bruce's exile:

"Our chief at that time, Sir Neill Campbell, with a most constant loyalty adhered to King Robert in his great extremity with his kinsmen and followers, conducting him first to Argyll, then to Kintyre, and from thence . . . unto the Isle of Rochine near Ireland, where he wintered."⁷

All we know for certain is that Neil Campbell, head of all

⁷ *Argyll Letters*.

the Campbells, had committed his fortunes and those of his family to a cause that had lost all its territory to the English, had led to the hanging or worse of most of the Scottish King's supporters, and had lost Neil his wife to imprisonment in a cage in the public view, that she might be publicly scorned. It looked for all the world as if a Campbell had guessed completely wrong in the year 1307, with five separate Scottish forces armed against Bruce and with Pembroke's English archers beating the bushes to start Bruce, the fox, who had slipped back into Scotland with the spring.

Then came the lucky break that may well have saved the day. Edward Plantagenet, King of England who had led the chase for eleven long years, being now old and feeble, lay down and died; but with such regret that when he felt himself passing, he ordered his successor Edward II to place his body at the head of the army as it proceeded into Scotland. But his son paid no attention to the injunction laid upon him, shipped what remained of his father back to London, discharged Pembroke, his governor general, and started the war all over to suit himself.

Shortly thereafter the young man hied himself to France to marry, and used poor judgment in the selection of those left in charge during his absence. England began to have internal rumblings and the Scots took advantage of the situation to clean out many of the enemy-held castles in Scotland, mercilessly slaughtering both the English who were in possession and the Scots who had sided with them. In the cleaning-out process the MacDougals suffered a serious defeat at the hands of a force consisting mostly of Highlanders, with the Campbells and MacKenzies leading the fight against them, and Douglas and King Robert Bruce both taking a personal hand in the battle. It was at this time that Dunstaffnage castle became a Campbell possession.

In March 1309 Bruce was able to call together the first par-

liament of his reign. The men who assembled represented a great part of northern Scotland. Among them were Neil Campbell and his brother, the former setting his name down on the register as Sir Nigel de Campo-bello.⁸ Later in the summer Edward II sent an envoy to discuss the matter of a peace treaty. Neil Campbell and John de Menteith acted for Bruce, but nothing came of it and Edward mobilized for another drive to subdue Bruce and Scotland. Four of Neil Campbell's brothers fought at this time alongside of Bruce. They were: Sir Dugald Campbell, who, signing himself del Counte de Perth, had sworn fealty to King Edward in 1296, but had later joined Bruce, and received from him many grants of land including the Island of Torsa—at one time being sheriff of Argyllshire; Arthur Campbell, who had also sworn fealty to Edward but had conveniently forgotten it, and who was later rewarded by Bruce with the charter of the constabulary of Dunstaffnage “with the mains⁹ thereof”; Duncan Campbell, who supported Bruce and later received the Charter of Duntroon; and last but not least, Donald Campbell who appeared on the Ragman's Roll as Sir Doneval Cambel del Count de Dumbreton and in 1304 had acted in the English interest in various matters in South Scotland; but in 1308 was found on the other side, signing a communication to the King of France on behalf of Scotland. He received grants of land at Reid Castle, which he resigned to his son Duncan, who also received lands from his wife in the shire of Kirkcudbright in the Lowlands south of the Clyde. The son

⁸ George Black, in *The Surnames of Scotland*, takes the position that the name Campbell cannot be considered as derived from a Norman origin, because of the fact that—

“the idiom of that language would require
the form ‘de Bello Campo’.”

Sir Nigel de Campo Bello simply adds to the confusion. Thus the argument is protracted. The truth will probably never be known.

⁹ Domains; Scottish for land attached to a mansion house.

and his wife, Susanna Crawford, became the ancestors of the Campbells of Loudoun, an important branch of the clan.

Neil Campbell was awarded jointly with his wife Mary and their son John all the lands formerly held by the Earl of Atholl, who had opposed Bruce, and by the time the next Parliament was assembled Neil was one of the great barons, with wide influence in all matters of state. Before this came about however, it was necessary to win the battle of Bannockburn.

By the year 1314 Edward II had assembled an army of mammoth proportions for those days and moved into Scotland. With him were earls and dukes and knights by the hundred, for it was apparent that should the English be victorious there would be many a fine appointment to the governorship of castle and district. It was the custom of governments to award these prizes on the battlefield. In some cases deserving leaders of military forces were rewarded before the battle and sent out to win luster for their new titles; while other titles and grants were given after the battle to the new heroes of the day, if their deeds were sufficiently impressive. Therefore every English leader with ambition, recollecting that it had not been too difficult to whip the Scots on other occasions, took care to go along for the invasion. It looked like a chance for easy advancement, and the English leaders jostled each other a little to be among those in the first line where a good man might be noticed and perhaps lay the foundation for a great future.

Only a born optimist could have expected Sir Nigel de Campo-bello to have anything but a broken head and a ruined fortune by nightfall of the day of Bannockburn. A little band of foot soldiers with spears, bows, and not too many horses were all that Scotland could oppose to the overwhelming host of well-armed and well-mounted Englishmen. It looked like quick suicide for the Scots. The huge stallions of

the Clydesdale type, armed front and sides, which were ridden by the English, were the forerunners of the modern tank while their riders, encased in armor tempered to turn an arrow, sat on top of them like animated turrets, ready to bear down on the heads of the luckless Scots with swords and axes. Added to the horse-borne troops of the English were mobs of archers, spearmen and foot soldiers. Few would have given much for the future of the Campbell clan if the fathers of the next generation had to come alive out of that battle line-up.

However, Bruce had put together a strong, well-drilled army—each man knew just where he belonged and moved into place with grim determination. For once, the Scots were well trained and well organized. The spearmen in the front rank made little holes in the turf, sinking the butts of their shafts into the ground and holding the points in front of them at an angle about breast high. Their comrades behind them thrust their spears forward, filling in the spaces. Thus they made a “hedgehog,” and many an English charge broke against those points before the sun set on Bannockburn. The English rallied again and again, for they realized that once the “skin” of the hedgehog was broken the meat was there for the picking. If the horses had broken that line of spears, not many Scots would have been able to get away alive, in spite of the fact that every Highlander carried a knife in his legging for the purposes of disemboweling the horses if he went down under their hoofs. It was hang together or die, and well had Robert Bruce hammered this into his men, with the help of the Douglasses, the Campbells, the Stewarts, and other resolute leaders. Shoulder to shoulder was the way they met the English at Bannockburn, every man accounting for his place in the line and bracing up the men on each side of him—and *they held*.

The English horses went down that day carrying with them the armored riders in their iron cocoons. In the heat of

battle many an English warrior got a Scottish knife blade between his teeth as he rolled helplessly on the ground, weighed down by his iron coat. A big percentage of the more distinguished, however, were dragged alive from the battlefield to be exchanged for Scottish prisoners—such as the King's wife—or to pay princely ransoms that helped nicely to balance the budget. The English king fled from the field, chased by the few mounted Scots available and by some of the turncoats who had been his followers in an entirely different fashion no later than that morning. The battle was a complete victory for the Scots. Later, the English King built Oriel College as a memorial to his escape.

King Robert the Bruce went on to a constructive and fruitful reign, building a better and stronger Scotland, while the Campbells, having hocked everything down to their shoelaces to back one of the longest of long shots in history, went home to cash in on their winnings. The Campbells had made a killing in more ways than one.

CHAPTER III

The Campbells Tie-Up with Trouble

BANNOCKBURN WAS the turning point in the affairs of Scotland and the beginning of great things for the families that had helped Bruce win the long fight against the English. Bruce came into complete power, and being in a position to advance the interests of his loyal followers, proceeded to do so. He realized that he needed strong support. From abroad he was faced with ever-recurring English invasion and at the same time was forced to deal with enemies at home whose main ambition was to eliminate him even though it took murder to do it. He had only a few men around him who had been with him from the start and he gave responsible places to those he felt he could trust. The Campbells, the Stewarts, and the Douglasses were strong in Scotland from the day of Bannockburn.

Of the three clans, the Douglasses was by far the most spectacular. Close relatives of the Murrays in their beginnings, the Douglasses were proud, arrogant, fearless, and almost psychopathic in their desire for a fight. Their leaders had great ability as military organizers; they seemed made for the double task of maintaining order in the Lowlands and acting as an outguard against the English. The Lowlands comprised the best land in Scotland, the choice spot in the kingdom from the standpoint of wealth for the family that might hold it. At the same time, the Lowlands were already full of well-worn trails made by the English armies that had come and gone for years; the region was the happy hunting ground for raiders of both English and Highland origin who frequently decided

to steal livestock instead of raising it and knew where the best pickings were to be found. The Lowlands were Scotland's battleground.

When Bruce knighted James Douglas on the field of Bannockburn and assigned to his family the holding of the Southern Border, he gave them the most difficult military job of all the Kingdom, but none of the clan would have wished for anything less; in fact, had the King done otherwise he would doubtless have had a Douglas war on his hands. The Douglasses felt that they had earned this recognition, and no Douglas ever was backward in his claims—sometimes even for rewards not too clearly earned.

After the start Bruce had given them the family grew steadily in strength and holdings, and the time came when the head of the Black Douglas clan thought it beneath his dignity to ride forth with less than a thousand men in his train. Without a doubt, the Douglasses had aspirations to the throne and deliberately sought to increase and expand their power. There were twenty-three Douglas earls before the year 1600 and of these six were sons-in-law of a King, either Scottish or English, and all the others married into powerful families, including the Campbells.¹ Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll, who was beheaded for his revolt against Charles II, showed the Douglas blood in his make-up. His mother was a Douglas.

The fourth and fifth generations of Douglas leaders after Bruce lived like kings and were next to the royal house in military standing and strength. As the Stewarts rose to power the Douglasses were unreconciled to seeing their rivals gain ground—which can be readily understood; for the makings of the house of Douglas had ridden with the beginnings of the house of Stewart in the hard early days when not one man among them had more than one shirt to his back.

¹ MacKenzie, *The Rise of the Stewarts*.

The Stewarts had the Campbells on their side, however, and almost all historians are agreed that the Campbells were among the best political connivers in Scotland. What the Douglasses would do by force with great trumpeting and clash of arms, the Campbells were inclined to do or undo behind closed doors. The Campbells were calculating in their moves while the Douglas leaders were inclined to unpredictable wrath and quick to rebellion. On many an occasion a disgruntled Douglas took up residence across the Border in England and carried arms against his own country. In the days of their strength the Douglasses may well have made the difference between a free Scotland and a vassal state, but they died dissatisfied and unhappy. They were great warriors but would have made poor kings in a country where the tendency at best was to go to war too often.

Another clan to forge to the front under Bruce were the Stewarts, and they went clear to the top. The name is derived from the fact that for generations before the time of Bruce this family had held the office of Steward of Scotland, at that time the most important in the kingdom next to that of King. Walter, who served in that capacity under Bruce was the sixth of his line to hold the office and the family was deeply grounded in the science of government. At the age of twenty-two, Walter commanded a wing of the Scottish army at Bannockburn under his cousin, the Douglas and his rewards were sumptuous. He was knighted and given Bruce's daughter in marriage. From him sprang the long line of Stewart kings which ruled Scotland and later England and only came to an end as a political force in 1745 when the Campbells helped crush the Jacobites at Culloden.

Walter Stewart died before he was forty, having served Bruce well as an administrator and as one of his great captains in arms. As a warrior he stood next to Douglas and the Bruces themselves. There were two branches of this family and each

had a share in Scottish history. They spelled the name variously Stewart, Steuart and Stuart but they were one and the same family all the way.²

The Campbells picked up a good deal of Stewart blood by intermarriage as they went along. The two families seemed to depend upon each other instinctively, which was far from the case between the Campbells and Douglasses. The Campbell attitude toward warfare was to consider it a hard job to be done as quickly and efficiently as possible and then go back to the real business of life, while the Douglasses hailed war for its honor and glory and as an end in itself. The two points of view are irreconcilable and the Campbell and Douglas families never had a great deal in common so far as their philosophy of life was concerned.

With all their glory and power the royal Stewarts seem never to have had adequate compensation for the tragedy and heartbreak that came to them. Says MacKenzie,³

"the longest lived of the Jameses was scarcely forty-two, while the others died at twenty-nine, thirty-seven, forty and thirty-one; and of the eight sovereigns of the First House of Stewart only three died in their beds and two among those of heart-break."⁴

This, then, is the house to which the Campbells tied their fate and to which they gave hostage from time to time through marriage; never was there a time more filled with adventure nor a royal house more tumultuous in its living.

² The "Royal" Stewarts and the "Sword-Arm" Stewarts united when Darnley and Mary, Queen of Scots, were married. The Douglasses were in that combination also, for Darnley's mother was a Douglas. Archibald Campbell was a brother-in-law of Mary and tried to prevent the wedding. He hoped to bring about the marriage of the Queen and his brother Colin.

³ Op. cit.

⁴ James VI lived more than sixty years but this monarch is not included in the First House of Stewart. It might be added that Mary, the only woman of the Stewart line to come to the Scottish throne, lost her crown at the age of 25 and was beheaded at the age of 44 after 19 years of imprisonment.

And the Campbells went down the years with them. What a time and what a family!

As soon as Bruce had things in his favor he began cleaning out the clans which had opposed him. The Comyns, of course, were watching for the first chance to kill Bruce, either in the field or by assassination, but he moved first. Thirty of the Comyns were beheaded in one day and the strength of the family was rapidly dissipated. The beheading-block was as much a royal appurtenance as the scepter in those days and the King who failed to use the one was soon without the other.

Bruce soon ended the MacDougals. The King drove their leader, the Lord of Lorne, out of the country and made the title part of the Stewart spoils. Eventually it was transferred to the Campbells.

During the early part of the Bruce era the Campbells lost two of their leaders in rather rapid succession. Colin the Great, who died before he could feel sure that the Bruce cause would win, never knew how well his choice for King was to turn out. Neil died shortly after Bannockburn. The satisfaction he may have derived from seeing the backs of the English as they fled southward was the only reward he received for his years of tribulation as a supporter of Bruce. Had he lived twelve months longer, he would have enjoyed walking over the new lands granted to the Campbells by the King, but it was not to be; within a few months after the last Englishman disappeared from the ken of the watchers on Stirling Castle, Neil Campbell laid down his arms never to take them up again.

His last recorded activity shows a safe-conduct arranged on September 9, 1314 for a group of Scottish commissioners headed by him, which met with a similar group representing the English, at Dumfries, near the Border. An attempt was made to treat for a lasting peace, but the English King de-

manded recognition of his sovereignty from the Scots, while the Scots demanded removal of the English from Scotland. A meeting of minds was impossible and Neil returned to report this to the King.

At the time of his death Neil Campbell was a strong Scottish leader; a soldier, a diplomat, brother-in-law to the King and father of the King's nephew. He was ready to pluck the rewards due him, but he passed on just as he set his foot in the promised land, and his son Colin Campbell succeeded him as head of the family.

Kings are said to have short memories, but Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland, never forgot a friend or a favor. In February 1315 we find him writing to Colin as "Our beloved and faithful Colin son of Sir Neil Cambel." In recognition of the services of the Campbell family the King took the lands of Lochow and combined them with those of Ardscoyrythe, making a large barony, and added this to their Argyllshire holdings. At the same time Colin Campbell was made Lord of Lochow, a title which the Argyll Campbells carry to this day. Another of the present-day titles held by the head of the Argyll Campbells is Keeper of Dunoon. This is because Colin drove the English out of Dunoon Castle in Cowal; Dunoon Castle is today gone from its rocky hill, having been pulled down as a source of building material from near-by houses; but the title still lives to remind the Campbells of a famous and worthy ancestor.

While Colin was out winning laurels for himself at the head of his troops, young John Campbell, his half brother, son of Neil and Mary (Bruce) Campbell, was growing up. In April 1315 Bruce called together a parliament which met at Ayr and put into its hands his designations for the succession to the throne. Bruce knew that at his death many claims might arise, as had happened before, and he wanted to avoid conflict if possible and insure the continuance of his line. Among

the heirs was John Campbell, nephew to the King. There were but two individuals at that time between him and the throne, which is the closest a Campbell ever came to being King of Scotland.

In order to equip John Campbell for his position in life and at the same time destroy an enemy of the Crown, the holdings of the Earl of Athol (the Menteiths) were taken and made over to him. These he held until well into the reign of Bruce's son David. The beginning of another strong branch of the Campbell family seemed established.

Upon the death of Robert Bruce, Edward Baliol, son of John, started the return of evil days to Scotland by unexpectedly invading the realm to regain his father's crown. He was supported by the English and by the families of such Scottish nobles as had opposed Bruce in the beginning and had therefore been forced to leave the country with great loss of property when he came to power. These "disinherited" leaders had lived on slim rations in England for close to twenty years and needed only an invitation to try to win back their former holdings and prestige.

On July 19, 1333, was fought the battle of Halidon Hill, near Berwick, where the outcome was just the opposite of Bannockburn. John Campbell, Earl of Athol and nephew of the King, went down to die with hundreds of other good Scottish leaders. And because John had no son his lands and title reverted to the Crown.

Again the enemy overran almost all of Scotland, with the Campbells, as usual, holding out against them in the Highlands; Campbell of Loch Awe with the Stewarts and the Earl of Moray this time taking leadership in support of the Scottish cause. King David spent some time as a refugee in France, came home, fought a battle at Neville Cross, was defeated, captured and held captive by the English for eleven years—a good part of the time in the Tower of London. A ransom

of 100,000 merks⁵ payable in ten yearly installments was exacted for his release after years of negotiating. In the meantime Baliol was crowned and gave the country over to the English. He was soon driven out by the indignant Scots, who struggled back to power. The Scottish patriots were up, down, and up again, losing terrificly in pitched battles which they fought like amateurs, and winning back again through guerilla warfare, at which they were experts. Through it all the Campbells stood firm in the west, never wavering in their support of the Scottish cause. During this time Colin Campbell, grandson of the great Colin, was made Lord of Lochow, but disagreement arose over the heavy ransom payments demanded for the King. The only way to raise the ransom money was by laying heavy taxes, against which the Highlanders were ever protesting. In 1363 King David found the Stewarts of the western Highland branch engaged in an uprising against him and the Campbells threatening to support their unruly neighbors.

In 1368 Archibald Campbell, one of the barons in Parliament was summoned to come to the King and give a peace bond to insure not only good conduct on the part of the Campbells but their aid as well in putting down disloyalty in their section of Scotland. Apparently Archibald paid no attention to the summons, for we find that when Parliament met the next year he was noted on the roll as being absent "*per contumaciam*."

A proposal was made that the King and his Court "make a progress" through the Campbell bounds and hold hearings regarding the tax allowance on the price of wool. The payments of the King's ransom were financed by revenue from exports of cured meats, fish and wool, the latter being especially valuable because Highland wool was favored by the

⁵ Merk—A Scottish coin worth about eighteen cents, but extremely difficult to earn in those days in Scotland, where dire poverty was the rule and but little money was in circulation.

French and others on the Continent. These commodities were taken over by the State at a fixed low price and resold at the higher prices prevailing abroad. The difference was applied to the ransom fund.

The Highlanders felt this to be unfair. Their King, with no talent for war, had blundered into captivity on the battlefield and they must now pay ransom by giving up their wool, grown on sheep tended in the hard weather of the Highlands. They were averse to paying special levies for the release of a King who didn't know his job. Robert Stewart, who acted as regent during the many years that David was away, had given them as good a government as the King had ever given them, or even better; and Archibald Campbell was in no hurry to force his people to begin ten years of ransom payments to offset the mistakes of one afternoon of fighting.

Finally, in 1371, to the great relief of the people, King David died, and the Campbells hastened to declare their allegiance to his Stewart successor. There is some evidence that Archibald Campbell married a Stewart; if so, she must have died soon after. Certain it is that the family of this Campbell had as mother a Lamont, whether as first or second wife. The oldest son, again named Colin, succeeded his father as clan leader some time near the year 1390.

This Colin married into the Stewart family group, becoming the husband of Queen Annabella's sister. As Lord of Lochow, he led the Campbells of Argyll for about twenty years; and hard years they were. No sooner was the government stabilized, than something was sure to happen that resulted in civil warfare, insecurity and loss. Economic laws which never repeal themselves applied then as they do now. We who are paying the piper for the last time we danced on the battlefield can sympathize with the Scottish common people of those days who had to produce the wealth that was flung out the window by the followers of Mars.

The fortunes of the Campbells naturally went up and down with the fortunes of their royal relatives. Being favored by their West Highland location they stayed out of much of the turmoil which was constantly breaking out in the eastern and southern counties, either in brushes with the English or in civil war between powerful leaders who wouldn't wait for events to run their course. But as time went on the Campbells paid dearly for their privilege of following the Stewarts.

CHAPTER IV

The Campbells Follow the Stewarts and Die on Flodden Field

ROBERT II (1371-1390), grandson of Robert Bruce and nephew of King David II, became the first Stewart King. During his reign everything was peaceful and quiet with the Campbells, who were going about their business in Argyllshire under the leadership of Colin's son Archibald.¹ The country was so impoverished by war and ransoms that it was a full-time job to keep a clan in food and clothing without meddling too much with outside affairs—and Archibald put first things first. He died without having taken much part in national affairs.

However, the Campbells had been Robert Stewart's friends when friends were needed. No later than 1363, about seven years before Robert came to the throne, the wife of David II had persuaded her husband to throw his capable nephew and heir in prison. Archibald Campbell and Robert's son-in-law, John of the Isles, "made a band," as they called their alliances in those days, and with the support of John of Lorne, who was married to Robert's niece, threatened armed intervention. They may well have saved Robert Stewart's life, for the Queen was definitely not willing to have him succeed to the throne and would have gone to extreme lengths to prevent it—and extreme lengths in those days meant having the heading-ax on a man's neck if no other way could be found to stop him. She finally went so far as to announce that she was

¹ The Archibald Campbell who led at Flodden Field was this Archibald's great-great-great-grandson.

pregnant, and is suspected of planning to palm off a spurious heir (which would have intervened between Robert and the throne); but she was proved to have lied and was so discredited that she found herself divorced before she got through with her plotting. Robert, strongly supported by his friends from the West Highlands, was returned to power at about the time his head might have been bouncing around on Heading Hill.

When Robert II was crowned in 1371 he was hardly in position to do much for his friends except lay his burdens on them, for he came to the throne burned out physically and mentally. He was fifty-five years old, father of eleven legitimate, and a large but unknown number of illegitimate, offspring. He suffered severely from inflammation of the eyes and was partially blind. Furthermore, Robert had already given his best years to Scotland. At twenty-two he had been called to head the government for his uncle, David II, and the years had left their mark on him. He had fought the English, the predatory leaders in his own country, and the Queen, and had done well against them all; but each had taken a toll. Thirty-three years in the Court of a Stewart King, for the most part at the center of its power, would wear down any man, especially when he had a weakness for women. About all that Robert II could do for the Campbells had been done. Since he was the responsible head of the government during most of David's reign, we may well believe that the grants of land and title which were made then were really his work.

At any rate the time came all too soon when Robert II was King in name only; and his realm was ruled by regents with the usual confusion and inefficiency which comes from stop-gap arrangements in the affairs of men.

Robert III came to the throne in 1390 in even worse condition than his father's had been. During his late teens he had



Valentine

ARDCHONNAL CASTLE AND LOCH AWE (PORT SONACHAN)

Ardchonnal Castle, now called Port Sonachan, is the first piece of real estate ever owned by the Campbells. With ample expanse of water between it and the shore it was capable of strong defense in the days of sword and spear, bow and arrow. The Campbells probably settled there about a thousand years ago, although there is no certainty as to when it became their stronghold. Like so much concerning early Scotland the story of this place is legendary rather than historical. The visitor to the headwaters of Loch Awe will pass by as he travels from Inveraray to Dunstaffnage.

TAYMOUTH CASTLE HOTEL FROM THE GOLF COURSE

Taymouth Castle is more like a public institution than a castle. Built in the days when defense was no longer a major consideration, Taymouth is dedicated to easy living and the to-be-expected has happened. It is no longer a Campbell holding. Tough and rough though the old days were, they did something for those Campbells who survived them.



shown some promise, but as a young man he had been crippled by a horse, and from then on lived a secluded, scholarly life. He had become a dignified white-haired gentleman utterly unfitted to be King of Scotland. In the fourth year of his reign he sired a son named James, whose misfortunes brought the Campbells back into recorded history.

After a reign of only nine years Parliament deposed Robert III, who retired to his estate while his duties were taken over by his brother, the Duke of Albany, a sly and crafty man. Under Albany the Regency lasted almost twenty years and was a time of oppression for the common people. Albany did not control the nobles and they ran wild in their excesses and oppressions.

The Duke, who had at first been given limited powers, came in time to assume all the privilege and pomp of royalty, which he greatly relished; he showed signs of wanting to perpetuate the succession by arranging to have his son follow him. There was nothing but the life of the little Prince James between Albany and his ambition to be king. The intervening heirs had died either peacefully or by violence, and King Robert III had seen too many throats slit and skulls cracked in the wild and unruly Scotland of the early fifteenth century to suppose that Albany would stay his hand even in his own family. As there was no protection for the Prince in the home of his father, the latter decided to send the boy to France, where the reigning house had always been favorable to the Scottish Kings, through their common enmity to England. By this means Robert III hoped to preserve James to be King some day.

Making the excuse that he wanted his son properly educated in French at the court of King Charles, he prepared a ship to take him across the channel in 1406 under the protection of the Earl of Orkney. There seems, however, to have been some underground agreement between Albany and the

English, for when the ship carrying James stood out to sea a squadron of English privateers was waiting and took the boy and his whole suite to London, where they were shut up in the Tower. If ever there was a high-handed act of piracy, this was it, for England and Scotland were at peace and the Prince certainly could not be considered a prisoner on any basis except forceful seizure on the high seas. Judging from the later actions of the Duke of Albany, it would certainly seem a plot to hold in his own hands the power to rule Scotland. Orkney protested and was released, as were all but one or two members of the suite. James, however, was held.

In spite of the manner in which he had been taken, the Prince was given a fine education, and when he was finally returned to Scotland in 1424 he was well equipped to rule. He was, moreover, a scholar, a writer, and an athlete, and he had his future Queen picked out—a fine English girl, who came with him to Scotland and was a good wife. After James was murdered in 1427 she married another member of the Stewart family. They lived at Gloom Hill near what later became the site of Castle Campbell; it is not likely that Castle Campbell was even partially built at that time.

James was not released unconditionally to return to Scotland. Long negotiations for his ransom were entered into, and since he could not be considered a prisoner of war, the figure was based on the expenses incurred for his education and set at 40,000 pounds (about \$200,000). The English demanded hostages until the ransom should be paid, and fifteen were selected. One of them was George, heir of Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun; he was confined in Fotheringay Castle May 21, 1424 and released July 16, 1425. As he was the eldest son, his income was estimated at 300 merks a year. In due time he married Elizabeth Stewart and succeeded his father as head of the Loudoun Campbells. Another hostage was Sir Duncan Campbell who had succeeded Colin in 1414 as head of the

Clan Campbell of Argyll.² Because of the records covering this service, we know that Duncan was rated as having an annual income of 1500 merks; in only one case did any other hostage have as much.

In those days the giving of hostages for a debt was the only way the English and Scots could insure each other's honesty. In this case the English lost finally, for James died with the major part of the ransom still unpaid. The only ones really to suffer were the hostages, some of whom sat for years, waiting for their country to pay the debt and thus release them. These men lived on parole at their own expense, guaranteeing not to leave London. Their servants came and went under safe-conduct, bringing money and messages from home.

To some extent being a hostage might take on the aspect of a vacation in the big city, but the drawback was that before the vacation was over the debt must be paid or another hostage sent to take the place of one who had died, or who wanted to go home. The English made sure there were no deserters. In fact, they complained bitterly at times of the slowness with which the Scots replaced those hostages who had died from the plague; and they set forth in their instructions to the envoys they sent to take the matter up at the capital, that no fault could be found with the authorities for not moving the hostages to a plague-free spot outside of London, since the English King did not go.

Both Campbells escaped the plague and were fortunate enough to be relieved at the end of the first year. They served in 1424-25 and perhaps one of the reasons they were replaced and allowed to go home was because they had married into the Stewart family and could get favors. About one quarter of the ransom was paid that year, but the outcry of the Scottish people over the extra taxes was so heavy that no

² This leader was the first Campbell to assume the title of Argyll. *Great Britain Historical M.S.S. Commission IV.*

further money for the purpose was collected. If the Campbells hadn't been relieved when they were, they might have been a long time in London, for King James, remembering how long his countrymen had let him sit, levied no more ransom taxes after the first attempt, and after the third year of his reign he did nothing about replacing hostages. The poor fellows died serving their King in what amounted to English exile.

There can be no doubt that James came home determined to pay off those who had been responsible for his long captivity without a protest from Scotland. Especially was he determined to even matters with the Regents who had enjoyed the power and glory of ruling while he sat prisoner. His uncle Albany, the chief conspirator, was dead, but Albany's son Murdoch had succeeded his father as automatically as if it were a case of royal succession.

When James returned, Murdoch moved out of the government, but he was still remembered as the man who had once ruled Scotland, and as the son of Albany, one of the most powerful men the country had seen since the time of Bruce. As long as Murdoch was alive he was a constant threat to the "James" portion of the family. The King held his peace until he was sure of his position and then ordered his cousin Murdoch arrested and thrown into a cell, along with various other relatives, including the Earl of Lennox, head of the Stewart clan. He served warning that only a short time would be given to prepare a defense against the charge of misuse of power. The only member of Murdoch's immediate family to escape was his son John Stewart, who fled to the western Highlands to raise a rebellion in Argyllshire. He had some success, for the Bishop of Finlay joined him and their combined forces fired the village of Dumbarton.

Probably the reason that John Stewart moved into Argyllshire to start his uprising was that his aunt, Marjory Stewart

Campbell, had been the wife of Duncan Campbell, head of the clan; and John may have felt that even though his aunt was no longer living, the cause of her brother Murdoch would be looked upon there in a favorable light. Duncan, however, seems to have considered the contest one of little merit. He stayed away from the schemes of his nephew, who was flirting with sudden death and was sure to bring trouble upon anyone who joined with him in what was essentially a family fight. It could have involved the Campbells, since they had married into the Stewart family, but wise Duncan knew that it would mean only trouble for him no matter who won or lost, so he went ahead with his work and let the blood relatives fight it out.

As Duncan had expected, the insurrection was short-lived. Stewart was captured and thrown into a dungeon in Stirling Castle. Bishop Finlay raced out of the country to Ireland and five of his minor followers were hanged. King James I assembled the nobles and a prompt trial was given the top offenders, who were expecting the worst.

With the King in so hostile a frame of mind, the verdict could go only one way. Stewart was found guilty of treason and beheaded the next day on Heading Hill. In a short time other relatives followed him to the block, which ended the Murdoch threat to the throne.³

During this turmoil in their own territory the Campbells stood staunchly by their leader, Duncan Campbell, who had been chief justice and lord lieutenant for the county under Albany and Murdoch, and was continued in office by King James. Again the Campbells had guessed right and were headed for much larger things in the days to come.

³ The execution of the Earl of Lennox is a mystery to students of history. He was about eighty years old and had taken no prominent part in public affairs. It would seem that his principal crime was being Murdoch's father-in-law. The King did not seize the estates of Lennox as he did those of Murdoch and other relatives.

One other service performed by Duncan for king and country came at the siege of Roxburgh Castle in South Scotland. This stronghold had been held by the English for years, and James I decided to drive them out. The attempt added no luster to the laurels of the Scots, for it was a miserable fiasco with little glory for any one except the defenders. James I probably wanted to forget it all as soon as possible; he gave no recognition to anyone. Many years later, however, in 1452, James II granted to Duncan Campbell 20 merks of King's land in Cowal, in remembrance of his service to his father James I in this action. No record of this service has been found, but Duncan must have played some part of merit, perhaps that of spending money out of his own pocket for arming and feeding troops.

Duncan also served James I as Privy Councilor for a time. He is to be looked upon as one of the great men of the clan, if for no other reason than that of being the father of several outstanding sons.

James I had much trouble with the MacDonalds. He fought more than one pitched battle with them and put many of their leaders to death, including Donald, who fled to Ireland, where he was finally killed and his head sent to the King.

Some writers say that during the reign of James I over forty nobles were beheaded for unlawful and unruly conduct, a point disputed by others who say that he could not have spared so many. The number will never be known; but in the days of Duncan Campbell justice was dispensed with a strong hand.

After thirteen years of this reign a group of nobles rose against King James and chased him into a drain of the Abbey of the Black Friars at Perth, where he was staying at the time. There he was killed at night in the dark and filth like a rat. Although many of the murderers were captured and killed by the cruelest torture, this did not bring back the

King or bring peace to Scotland. Thomas Chalmers, one of the murderers, was captured by the Campbells, and years later James III gave to Colin Campbell and his fourth wife lands in Lowers in Perthshire and other concessions, as their just reward.

Following the death of James I in 1437, his son, James II, came to the throne. His government inherited many major problems one of which was the Douglas family, whose leaders were not yet reconciled to seeing a Stewart rule over them. In 1453, when Duncan Campbell passed away, after having served with honor two regents and two kings, the eastern and southern sections of Scotland were again resounding with the clash of men at arms, again putting down the Douglas.

All four of the rulers under which he served were Duncan's relatives by marriage and since they were in almost constant family discord, keeping out of it all was a major job of political tightrope walking. Duncan and Marjory,⁴ his first wife, had one son Archibald, who died before Duncan, leaving a boy, Archibald Celestine Campbell, grandson of both Duncan and the Regent, Albany, to become the second Lord Campbell and leader of the clan.

After the death of the illustrious mother of his first son, Duncan married another Stewart girl, this time an illegitimate granddaughter of Robert III of Scotland. Again the Stewart blood told, and fused well with the more conservative Campbell nature. Four boys were born of the second marriage and each founded a new branch of the Campbells: Colin, the eldest, became the ancestor of the Breadalbane Campbells of Glenorchy and Glenfalloch, a very famous branch, which in time came to have a plaid of its own and to be, next to the Argyll Campbells, the most powerful political group of Campbells in the Highlands. Neil, the next son, founded the

⁴ She was a granddaughter of Robert Bruce, King of the Scots; daughter of the Regent, Duke of Albany and first cousin of James I.

Campbells of Ellengreig and Ormadale; another son, Duncan, was ancestor of the Campbells of Auchinbreck and of the cadets of Glencardell and Glensaddell. Archibald was the ancestor of the Campbells of Otter, a branch now extinct. A fine bunch of boys, who lived to do honor to both Campbells and Stewarts. Because of their close relationship to the reigning house of Scotland, ample opportunity was given for their talents to shine.

In 1442 Duncan founded the Collegiate Church of Kilmun on Holy Loch, which was to become a famous Campbell burial place, and in 1445 James II gave him, the first in the family to reach that rank, the title of Lord Campbell. In a writ issued October 20, 1448, he was styled "Sir Duncan, lord the Campbell of Lochaw, Knight"—the first time the title appears in history.

In 1453 Duncan Campbell, having served well his country and the Clan Campbell, which he had headed for forty years, died and was buried with all honors at Kilmun. Under him the clan had prospered and kept out of foolish trouble at a time when it would have been much easier to get into trouble than to stay out of it.

When Colin, the second Lord Campbell, came to the leadership of the clan in the year Duncan died he may have been a minor, although of this we cannot be sure; but certain it is that his uncle, Colin Campbell of Glenurchy,⁵ had "the gift of his nephew's marriage" and arranged for a union between him and one of the daughters of John Stewart, Lord of Lorne. The uncle had already married another daughter of John, and a third Campbell had married the third daughter. This was the famous maneuver by which the Campbells secured the Stewart inheritance and eventually the title of Lord of Lorne for the family. Colin, through his wife, received Castle Gloom, which was a Campbell seat for almost four centuries

⁵ *Scots Peerage*.

thereafter. He was also made Earl of Argyll and from then on the head of the Campbell clan was commonly designated Earl of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorne.

The new title was payment for help in putting down revolt against the Crown. James II had been having trouble in his campaign against the Douglas power; had raised an army reinforced by a strong body of Highlanders, and had put on a do-or-die campaign which broke the Douglas forces. Their leader fled to the Isles on the west Scottish coast where the MacDonalds were in a perpetual state of near-revolt and a sure refuge for anyone opposing the King. The Campbells' part in this campaign, at a time when a friend in the western marches was worth his weight in gold to the king, brought them the title of Earl of Argyll, granted promptly in 1459, when John of the Isles surrendered and gave homage to the King.

James II continued the warfare against England with a few intermissions, and in 1460 besieged Roxburgh to reduce it before moving southward. Cannon were yet new enough in military armament to be something of a curiosity and James went to see the firing of one of the siege guns. The gun burst and the King was the only person killed (August 3, 1460). James III, who was only nine years old, succeeded to the throne.

The guardianship of the boy was given to his mother, who gave places of power in her government to Lord Boyd and to Colin Campbell, Earl of Argyll. They were acting as joint justiciars of Scotland for the territory south of the Forth in 1461, as is shown by a writ in the Wigton Charter Chest. In later years Boyd came into the bad graces of the King, and in the end was a fugitive to England; several of his contemporaries who failed to get across the Border in time had their necks stretched with a rope or shortened with an ax at the convenience of the capturing party. Colin must have given

complete satisfaction, for he was, at various times, commissioner to negotiate with King Edward IV, and the following year was made Master of the King's Household. It was at about this time that he began negotiating for Gloom Hill, for his duties kept him rather constantly in or about the seat of government and he needed a home nearer to Stirling Castle and Edinburgh. By 1474 he not only had an eastern seat arranged for and a castle being built but he had persuaded the King to erect Inveraray into a burgh of barony and to give him a long list of grants of land and title which greatly extended the holdings and the power and influence of the Campbells.⁶

In 1483 Colin Campbell was appointed High Chancellor of Scotland and was one of the officials of the Crown active in arranging the marriage of Prince James and other matters with England and France. Until 1487 he was active in the government of James III.

The appointment of Colin Campbell as Chancellor was high recognition. The office of High Chancellor had superseded that of Steward as the highest in the government. The Chancellor presided over Parliament and over Courts of Jus-

⁶ He obtained confirmation of a charter of Walter, Lord Lorne, to him of the lands of Kippane le Muretoun et le Myretoun in Perthshire, 7 May 1466; and three days later he had a grant to himself and his wife, daughter of the late John, Lord Lorne, of a third part of the lands of Kuldrane (Coldraine) and other lands in Fife and Perth, on the resignation of Mariota, his wife's sister, and on 8 February 1466-67 a grant of the lands of Pannel, co. Perth. On November 30, 1469 he entered into a transaction with Walter, Lord Lorne, uncle of his wife, by which Walter resigned the lordship of Lorne in favour of the Earl, in exchange for the barony of Innermeath, and the Earl of Argyll obtained a charter of the whole lordship of Lorne, 17 April 1470, to himself and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing to a series of other substitutes with a similar remainder in each case. The Earl thereupon added the designation of Lord Lorne to his other titles, and took the galley of Lorne into his own achievement, and from this time the Earls of Argyll are usually designated in addition Lords Campbell and Lorne. On 18 January 1472-73 he had a gift of the keepership of the Castle of Dunoon." *Scots Peerage*.

tice and High Commissions. It was his duty to deliver sentence of death on prisoners of note and high standing. Previous to the Reformation the chancellors of Scotland were usually Catholic prelates, the choice falling on the most learned and scholarly. Says Robertson, "from the earliest ages of the monarchy to the death of Beaton, fifty-four persons held that high office and of these forty-three were clerics." This precedent was broken principally by the Campbells.⁷ Five times before 1650, five different Campbells were appointed to this office and one was twice appointed, serving under two successive kings.

In 1488 things began going badly for James III as a result of his leaving too many of the affairs of the realm to be settled by the men around him. In his later years James was paying more attention to music and other esthetic interests than to his job of governing Scotland; the death of Queen Margaret had increased his tendency to keep to himself. He was preoccupied with the details of a personal choir when suddenly he awoke to the fact that his throne was about to slip away from him. Among those he mistrusted was Colin Campbell, whom he immediately removed from office.

It looked like war, and both sides rushed envoys to London to seek support from the English. Colin Campbell was sent as a representative of the rebels who were marching against the King with young Prince James in their midst. It was only a mild civil war, and before Colin had time to carry out his mission the two forces had met in front of Stirling Castle near the field of Bannockburn in a halfhearted skirmish. In the midst of the fight the king's horse bolted and he was thrown heavily to the ground. As he lay stunned, an unknown soldier of the opposing side galloped up and killed him with a dag-

⁷ Campbells appointed to the office of High Chancellor: Colin Campbell, appointed by James III, 1483 and by James IV, 1488; Archibald Campbell, by James IV, 1494; Archibald Campbell, by James VI, 1572; Colin Campbell, by James VI, 1579; John Campbell, by Charles I, 1641.

ger. The King's son was thereupon enthroned as James IV.

Colin immediately returned to Scotland and helped form the new government of which he was again made chancellor. Within two years he had been given a grant of land at Roseneath and Parliament passed an act changing the name of Castle Gloom to Castle Campbell. In 1493, after forty years at the head of the Campbell clan, he died, leaving his family much better off than he had found it. He was succeeded as head of the clan by his oldest son Archibald, who became the second Earl of Argyll.

Archibald was no youngster when he took up the task of leading the Campbells. Although his age is not known with any exactness, we do know that in 1489 he had a grant of lands in Dumbarton that were erected into a barony for him; so he must have been active and influential in politics before his father's death at about the time Columbus was sailing the high seas in quest of a shorter route to India. He was appointed Master of the King's Household the year after his father died, which would indicate a certain maturity, even though government officials ripened early in those days. His political influence and sagacity are attested by the fact that he became Lord High Chancellor in June 1494, almost immediately after he became head of the Campbells.

His marriage to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Stewart, Earl of Lennox,⁸ again tied the Campbells to the luck of the Stewarts. Archibald and Elizabeth had a large and active family, consisting by various accounts, of from seven to twelve children. Their daughter Catherine married a MacLean, who failed to measure up to the requirements for the husband of a Campbell girl and was killed by her brother John. Her second husband was a Campbell of Auchinbreck who, being a "cousin," knew what he was getting into and acted accord-

⁸ This branch of the Stewarts descended from a brother of Walter, the High Steward.

ingly. Archibald also had a son Archibald, who in his later years married a Douglas who was innocently accused of treason. She was convicted and burned, and her husband was killed in an attempt to escape from Edinburgh Castle, where he was confined.

Archibald's son John did especially well and became Thane of Cawdor, setting up another successful branch of the Campbell family. This branch of the Campbells, which also developed its own plaid, is still active and represented in the House of Lords of the English Parliament.

Shortly after Archibald's appointment as Keeper of the King's Household civil war broke out, with the first Earl of Lennox among those who were "up" in the west. Another family fight among the Stewarts was in progress and Archibald tried with little success to capture Dumbarton Castle for the King. Later, Robert Stewart, the second Earl of Lennox, stood beside Archibald Campbell on Flodden Field and redeemed any errors of loyalty of which he may have been guilty. These two men on that day commanded the left wing of the Scottish Army and died on the field.

A span of almost a hundred and fifty years intervened between the day in 1371 when the first Stewart King mounted the throne of Scotland and the day when the sixth King of that line lay sprawled on the Field of Flodden in the ungainly attitude assumed by the battle dead. Along with him on that field were twelve of his earls and fourteen of his lords whose blood and brains oozed out and mingled with that of ten thousand good Scots who never again would answer their King's call or any other, unless it were the trump of Judgment Day. Plenty of Campbells lay with him on his royal deathbed and Archibald, head of the Argyll Campbells, was one of the twelve earls who gave all that any man can give to prove loyalty above thought of self.

Flodden Field was one of the great tragedies of the Stewart

reign. At four o'clock of September 9, 1513, King James IV closed with the English Army, proud of the fact that a united Scotland had sent with him representatives of almost every clan and family in the kingdom. And well might he be proud, for not since Robert Bruce had such unity and good will been seen.

But being proud is one thing and being an inspired leader with a genius for training an army and leading it on the field is another. Discipline was essential even in the years before gun powder "made all men equal." Even when a battle took on all the aspects of a hand-to-hand gang fight in an alley, the maneuvering of troops during action could be a winning factor. In all the history of early Scotland, Bruce was the only man who seemed to understand this and certainly the only leader to make the tremendous effort necessary to break down the wild individualism of the Scottish soldier and build a fighting machine. James IV should have won. His men had the defense of their homes as inspiration and their number was equal to that of the English. The lines closed quickly and from then on it was slug toe-to-toe for a full two hours and a half, each man hewing down the man in front of him or being hewn down himself.

It is true that both sides had artillery—clumsy ox-drawn guns, made by beginners in the science of ordnance—built to fire against troops on level ground or to be used against buildings or rising ground. Apparently, before that day it had never occurred to even the most brilliant artilleryman that troops might advance over ground that fell away into a valley. Therefore, when the English and the Scots closed on each other from parallel ridges and met in the valley below, their gunners could not depress the muzzles sufficiently and all they could do was to bang away fruitlessly over the heads of the advancing enemy.

The most important factor in the Flodden action was the

fact that the officers of James's army went into the melee ahead of their soldiers, and soon the whole Scottish army was without officers and without direction, while the English top officers held back and directed the action, moving their troops when needful, sending bodies of soldiers against flank and rear of the Scottish forces. Contributing to the English advantage was the fact that the Scottish Lowlanders, after putting the Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire men to flight in the very beginning of the battle, stopped to loot the baggage train, and by the time their officers were able to re-form them, it was all over. Looting the baggage is one of the most disastrous diversions for a force in the midst of a fight and a sure sign of undisciplined troops.

Another important factor in the final outcome was the better armament carried by the English. They were equipped with a weapon called a "bill," which was spear and war-ax combined, and could be used to pierce a man's body or split his head as need might indicate. They thus had a two-dimensional weapon while the Scots had only their spears.

But even so, the English didn't win—they just didn't lose. At nightfall the Scots slowly withdrew, leaving on the field their useless artillery and ten thousand good soldiers who would never again raise their heads. Among the dead lay every man in the Scots peerage except four, and there was hardly an experienced administrator left in the kingdom.

As night fell the baggage looters were rallied as a nucleus for the scattered army and the survivors brought off to safety, with small credit given to the man who led them away. The public outcry against Home, who was one of the commanders of the first charge and who lived to be very useful in bringing off the retreat was such as to brand him as a coward for not staying and getting killed instead of saving the remnants of the army. Such was the conception of military leadership in Scotland in those days, which explains, in part,

why Scotland was almost sure to win a guerilla fight and almost sure to lose a battle.

But there was no criticism of Archibald Campbell. He was dead in the English mud fifteen miles southwest of Berwick-on-the-Tweed, in the midst of his loyal band of Campbell Highlanders who had been attacked on front, flank, and rear, and had died by platoons where they stood. There is no record of Archibald's burial place but since even the body of King James was lost, there is no doubt that Archibald is still there mingled with the dust of his own kind. Flodden Field is a Campbell graveyard.

CHAPTER V

Hail, Thane of Cawdor!

THANE OF CAWDOR is an ancient title which carries back into the dim shadows of unrecorded history. It comes down through Donald, Thane of Cawdor, who began his work at Nairn about the time that Colin Mor in Argyllshire cast in his fortunes with Bruce.

There is record of an earlier Thane of Cawdor if Shakespeare's play *Macbeth* can be taken as true. Anyone knowing Campbell history and aware that the thanes and succeeding leaders of Cawdor have been Campbells without exception since the sixteenth century will stop a moment when he reads in the play:

"First Witch: All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee,
Thane of Glamis!"

"Second Witch: All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee,
Thane of Cawdor!"

"Third Witch: All hail, Macbeth! that shall be King hereafter!"

Macbeth was a real man—not just a name in a play—and King Duncan, whom he murdered in the year 1040, was the flesh and blood King who appointed the Campbell ancestor Paul to be his Treasurer. After Macbeth had reigned about fifteen years he was killed and Malcolm, the son of Duncan, came to the throne and appointed Paul again to the office of Treasurer of the Kingdom. This was shortly before Paul became the father-in-law of Campus-bellus. It is a coincidence of human affairs that the man who appears first in literature as a Thane of Cawdor should be associated with the Campbell family from so many angles.

The thane was an overlord or rent collector who received a charter or grant for a given district from his sovereign. Upon payment of the sum under which this grant stood on the King's rental list, the thane became a sort of subsovereign to rule that section, collect rentals, maintain order and in general be responsible for the peace, prosperity, and piety of his retainers. The thane's rank was equal to that of an earl's son. The cro (blood money exacted in payment for killing a man) under the old Scottish law was 150 ky (cows) for an earl and 100 ky for the son of an earl or for a thane. The cro of a villeyne, or carl, as the common people or tillers of the soil were termed, was set at sixteen ky.

The title of thane was common only in northern Scotland, with four very limited thanages lying in the territory between Findhorn and Nairn. These were Dyke, Brodie, Moyness and Cawdor.¹ The Campbells came into the latter.

In the early history of that section it is recorded that Andrew, Thane of Cawdor, was installed as sheriff and constable of Nairn and half of Dunmaglass, at some undetermined date. However, in 1405 Donald, son of Andrew, succeeded to his father's holdings and in addition had charge of Moy, Urchanybeg and the additional half of Dunmaglass. Here starts the authentic history of the Cawdors.

William followed Donald and started to build the ancient castle, which still stands. The story goes that the thane dreamed he was to place a bag of gold on the back of a donkey, turn the animal loose and build the castle wherever it stopped. The hawthorn tree preserved in the vault of the great tower of the castle is the tree beside which this perambulating indicator gave the sign. "Green be the hawthorn tree" was long the toast at Cawdor gatherings. Started about 1450, this castle stands today, one of the finest and most picturesque of Scottish castles. Being in the far north country

¹ *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor.*

it did not suffer the sieges, burnings and other destruction that the English inflicted on castles farther south.

John, grandson of William the Castle Builder was a most unfortunate man so far as family heirs went. He died without sons and left only a daughter Muriel who was born after his death in 1498 and thus left without a protector. There was more than one powerful leader ready to move in and act as sponsor to the family for the sake of the fortune, if not for the sake of the girl. However, Archibald Campbell, second Earl of Argyll, who was Lord High Chancellor at the time, had political priority and moved first. Events worked in his favor.

Muriel's maternal grandfather, Huchon the Rois (Hugh Rose), Baron of Kylravok (Kilravock), had picked out his grandson, who was also her first cousin, as a husband for her—a marriage which would have kept the estate in the family. However, about that time Kilravock was under the hand of the law, being accused of robbing the family Urquhart. He and the MacKintoshes were evidently guilty and he was in no position to withstand a royal suggestion concerning family matters. When the case came to the attention of the Chancellor, Argyll, an agreement was entered into. Kilravock was let off easily but Argyll was given supervision of Muriel by the King's order and most likely Kilravock's not too willing consent.

For about four years Muriel was left with her relatives, and then one day the Campbells came to take her under their guardianship. They gave as an excuse that it was time for her to start school and they proposed to take her to the Argyll country. In the ensuing disagreement there were casualties on both sides, with seven Campbells lost. As the fight progressed some of the Campbells seized the girl and rushed her away with a guard. Those remaining dressed a sheaf in the girl's clothes, letting her relatives catch a glimpse of the decoy

from time to time to keep them following in the wrong direction. When the main body of Campbells saw that the real prize was safe, they retreated, leaving the make-believe to the enemy.² Both they and the Roses knew that much more than the girl was at stake, for when she rode south with the Campbells, the Cawdor inheritance rode with her.

When Campbell of Inverliver, who led the sortie, was asked if he did not consider seven men a high price to pay for the custody of a four-year-old girl who might die before her inheritance could be impounded he replied:

“The lassie can never die sae long as there is a red-headed lass on the shores of Loch Awe.”³

Her maternal grandmother had made any such substitution difficult however, for, suspecting the Campbells of being capable of just such a trick, she had branded the girl on the hip with one of her keys.

Muriel didn't die, or if she did a change was made so deftly that those who knew of it made no comment; and at the age of twelve she was given in marriage to Sir John Campbell, son of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, who must have been much older than his girl bride. For the Campbells this proved a very fortunate marriage and it also turned out well for Muriel. She lived to be the mother of five sons, one of whom was a bishop, and three daughters, one of whom married a lord. She outlived her husband by a full thirty years. Before his marriage John held large possessions in Argyllshire and according to *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*:

² Another version of the story is that the leader turned a hamper upside down over the decoy and told off seven men to fight to the death to defend it. By the time the seven had sold their lives dearly the rest of the Campbells were well away with their prize. Both stories agree that the Campbell loss was seven men and that Muriel was brought to the Campbell home by force.

³ Thomas Innes, *The Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland*.

"He pretended some right to Isla and long before the general spoil of the church lands the Campbells who couldn't wait for the Reformation had appropriated a great territory on the shore of Loch Etive. . . . Farquhard MacLahlan, bishop of the Isles and no stranger to the manners of his people, when making over the church land on Loch Etive to Sir John, recorded that the same was in a wicked and pernicious province with no rent collected and expressed an unnecessary doubt whether Sir John Campbell would be more successful."

Sir John Campbell immediately assumed active leadership of the Cawdors, who in time all became Campbells and wore a special tartan of their own, the only Campbell plaid that has any color beside the well known blues and greens that form a background for the white and yellow stripes of the Campbells of Argyll, Breadalbane, and Loudoun. The Campbells of Cawdor brightened their plaid with a dash of red.

Soon after their marriage in 1510 Muriel and John moved to the Cawdor estate near Moray Firth, where they began organizing their holdings. They provided the Earl of Argyll and the Campbells generally with a new crop of allies—John's new friends and retainers.⁴ Sir John executed a series of bonds of manred⁵ (vassalship) which gave him the right to call upon the groups around him in case of attack on any of the Campbells. Among those signing treaties of support were the MacCleans, MacDowleanis, Ewynsons, Makindeans, MacAllans, MacCondoches, Donylls, Makrannalds, MacNeylls, MacDonalds of Dyskath, MacIntosche, Captain of Clan Chattane, and the Stewards of Durwor. The tenor of such agreements was that the signer was to give

⁴ John Campbell's father, the Earl, was killed at Flodden Field on September 9, 1513. His brother Colin became 3rd Earl.

⁵ Called also manrent. This relationship arose from the fact that the retainers went with the land and had certain privileges and obligations. When the chief was one of their family the obligation was obvious. When he was of another family the vassal was required to declare his allegiance to the new proprietor, placing himself under the same obligation to support him against all others as if he were of his own clan.

“trew service perpetually to ane honorable kyncht Sir Jhone Campbell of Calder and to aris aganis all man and to take part on contrare all oderis the kynges grace beand exceptyt”⁶

In some of the letters of agreement the Earl of Argyll was also excepted. The signatures were usually followed by an ancient inscription worded as in the record of John MacAlexander McCondoche:

“for our selffs our sonnis (sons) and our ayrris (heirs)
with our handis upon the pen.”

They couldn't write and their hands had to be guided for the signature while they held the pen to make the signing legal, but no guide was needed for the hand when work came later with the broadsword.

The new Thane of Cawdor began enlarging his holdings as soon as he had made preliminary arrangements with the retainers who came to him with the Cawdor property. In February 1535, upon payment of 1000 pounds in gold and silver money of Scotland, he became legal proprietor of the barony of Straithnairn in addition to Cawdor, with all the baronial privileges of

“pit and gallows, infang and outfang thief,
sok, sak, tholl, and theme”⁷

meaning that he was empowered to hold court, hear disputes of law, judge thieves whether taken within his own boundaries or outside them, administer justice and deal out punishment even to the extent of death on the gallows.

A considerable territory was taken over at one time from the MacDougals of Lorneside in the form of church lands

⁶ *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*. Rendered into modern English it reads:

True service perpetually to an honorable knight, Sir John Campbell of Calder and to rise against all men and to take (his) part contrary (against) all others, the Kings Grace being excepted.

⁷ *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*.

of Muckairn. A battle was fought near Kilmaroneg, at a place called Dail A'Chatha. The MacDougals and the Campbells had drawn up their forces and the two leaders withdrew to one side to discuss the situation, leaving instructions that no trouble be started unless they gave the signal. Finally MacDougal agreed to give over the land upon receiving assurance that the Campbells would behave kindly to the vassals settled there, these being of the clans Indone, MacCalman, MacInnis and Sinclair. As they turned to go back to their retainers they came upon a snake and both drew their swords to kill it. Seeing the flash of weapons the two groups took it to be the start of a fight and set upon each other with murderous results, the Campbells winning again with the sword what they already had won by negotiation.

Other holdings were acquired. The rents from one of the small parcels included, in addition to cash, four muttons, four kids, four dozen poultry and four bolls (about twenty-four bushels) of oats. The tenants were also forced to pay eight bolls for dry multure (toll for grinding). In order to increase the multure it was made a misdemeanor for a man to grind his own grain and the mills of the offenders were taken and destroyed. The number of seizures noted in the family records indicates that considerable bootleg grinding went on while the Thane of Cawdor struggled for every pound of grain he could get from his tenants. His expansion program called for funds.

When Sir John died in 1546 he left a large estate in his adopted territory as well as in the Argyll country. In later years many of his descendants added further to the fame and fortune of the Cawdor Campbells but, giving credit where credit is due, Sir John is the Campbell who went into a distant and hostile country with the Campbell name and, with the help of his family, made it stick. The Cawdors are Campbells down to this day.

Colin, who headed the Argyll Campbells after his father's death, apparently wished his brother well and was willing to give him the vassalage of certain lands and men, but he did it in true brotherly spirit with an agreement which ended as follows:

"This to be in force als lang as my for said broder dois to us leyll, trew and afauld service as he should do to his broder and chief and no longer."

Archibald Campbell, who succeeded John, lived only five years and was succeeded by another John, his eldest son, who became a very busy man looking after the Campbell interests.

In those days the central government was constantly in an uproar and the realm ran to disorder like a schoolroom when the teacher is too easy. The disregard for law and order was pretty general throughout Scotland and John, with holdings in Nairn and Argyllshire, was busy going back and forth. His carefully-kept accounts, still in the hands of the Cawdors, show not only the shilling given the poor and the contribution at church, but also considerable expense for travel. (There are quite a number of entries for malt brew and for Spanish wine also, although the French wine cost much less.)

His main problem in Argyllshire was not his land but the young seventh Earl of Argyll, who had come into his inheritance at the age of eight, with John as one of his guardians.⁸ The unrest of the times and the jostling ambitions of the Argylls were held in small restraint, and the Earl was the victim of a poison plot engineered by Campbell of Lochnell, the next in line. The boy earl escaped with his life but felt very insecure and to help maintain order a Campbell of Ardkinglas was put on the job as comptroller. This added to the trouble

⁸ John's wife was the sister of the second wife of Colin Campbell, sixth Earl of Argyll. It was but natural that Colin should appoint John one of the guardians of his young son since the two were not only blood relatives but also brothers-in-law. The boy's mother was Colin's first wife.

instead of reducing it, for Ardkinglas was jealous of John of Cawdor, who was held in high regard by the young earl. About 1591 a plot was hatched for getting John out of the way and, one day when he was passing the house of Knepoch in Lorne, someone ambushed him and blew his life out with a blast from a hackbut.

The killing in cold blood of such a high official was too much even for a kingdom as loosely run as Scotland was at the time by King James VI, and the authorities rounded up the suspects. One man, put in the boot, confessed to the killing and implicated Ardkinglas, who may or may not have been guilty. Certain it is that there had been bad blood between him and John and there was testimony that he had resorted to witchcraft to sway the Earl from John's influence. It also is certain that when threatened with torture by the boot he confessed to the plot. In fact the Cawdor archives contain no less than three confessions by him, all different, which must have been given, partly at least, under torture or fear of it. It would look as if Ardkinglas was a weak man caught in an unfortunate time in Campbell history. His wild confessing and professions of witchcraft, suggest that he may have been a bit uncertain mentally; and furthermore, the affairs of the Campbells were being poorly administered. Such was not often the case. For hundreds of years the discipline in the Clan Campbell was amazingly well kept.

Ardkinglas was never brought to trial for his part in the affair. On several occasions notices were posted and threats issued, but no one came to take him to court and the matter was dropped. This is not too surprising, considering how the confessions were obtained. Until after 1700 an accused Scot might find himself with his foot and lower leg in an iron boot which was compressed by wedges driven in a little at a time while the bones cracked and the blood oozed out. Under such pain even an innocent man might cry out a confession for the

sake of temporary relief, even though it might mean the loss of his head later on. The authorities evidently had little faith in the forced evidence against Ardkinglas, and from this distance it would seem that they were right in suspecting the evidence, although perhaps not wrong in suspecting the man.

By the year 1600 the Nairn estate of the Campbells had grown into a sizable holding, but it is difficult to know how many people it supported—the only clew we have is a special assessment levied by the Crown of one merk per plow. The return from the Campbell estate at Nairn was forty plows, as we learn from a letter protesting that it was too heavy a tax. All we have to do now is to guess what percentage of the retainers were plowmen and how many plows Sir John Campbell conveniently forgot to declare. It would seem, however, that the Cawdor branch was still a rather small percentage of all the Campbells in Scotland.

The John Campbell who was assassinated was followed by his son of the same name, whose first wife was Jean Campbell of Glenorchy, mother of still another John who became member of Parliament for Nairnshire. To him his father resigned his Cawdor estate in 1622 when young John married Elizabeth of the house of Urquhart, thirty-two years before the old man died. The transfer of this estate to the son is especially interesting because in the papers of agreement, still preserved, the wadsets (mortgages) against the estate are enumerated and show the holdings to be encumbered to an extent of more than 100,000 merks, or about 5500 pounds sterling—a burdensome load for the Thane of Cawdor in those days, when little or no money was to be found in the outlying sections of Scotland from one week's end to another. In addition, the new master of Nairn agreed to pay his immediate younger brother 5000 merks, the next one in line getting 4000 and the two youngest each getting 3000. On the other hand the new father-in-law conveyed with his daughter vari-



JOHN CAMPBELL, EARL OF LOUDOUN



JOHN CAMPBELL, CHANCELLOR

THOMAS CAMPBELL — Poet

MAJOR GENERAL SIR A. CAMPBELL

National Portrait Gallery Photos



ous pieces of land and 12,000 merks cash. This helped, but still left a lot of scratching to be done by the young folks, since a life interest for the father of the bridegroom was coupled with the agreement. All of which shows that a holding in Scotland in the year 1600 had more of the characteristics of a business institution than most people might suppose. The titled heads of the families of those days are often pictured as spending their time hunting, riding to war, and exercising the social graces, but when we examine their account books and read their business papers it becomes evident that heading a family and ruling a territory was a serious matter. The Laird rode to battle occasionally, it is true, but for the most part he was riding after his tenants to help them increase grain production and to improve their flocks and herds. Over him hung the ever-present mortgage, and each succeeding heir must begin the struggle all over again as he worked to pay off in cash the heritage the younger children held in the estate. So much for the troubles of the heirs to large estates—it couldn't have been *all bad* for there was always a struggle for the property, but it is evident that a successful clan leader had to have more than a strong back.

In 1615 John Campbell of Cawdor became undisputed sovereign of the Island of Islay on the west coast of Scotland and again advanced the fortunes of the Campbells by enlarging their holdings. This change came about because James VI was short of money. The more egotistical and self-centered a ruler is, the more likely he is to overspend; and James VI always needed cash. His reign was one of constant financial strain, his government struggling to keep him solvent with small success; a way had to be found to make the realm earn more. Islay seemed to be one of the solutions, for it was a fertile tract of land in MacDonald hands and unproductive of rent. This it was proposed to correct, and the Campbells

had a good reputation as collectors. A high rental was set⁹ and John Campbell of Cawdor, having convinced them he could pay it, a charter was granted permitting him to take over the rule of the island with a big "if" attached. The "if" being that he could and would subdue the people living on the island and put them to work.

The conditions under which this charter was granted may seem peculiar in a country purporting to be organized under a central and civilized government, but the whole question of land title and authority was in confusion in Scotland and especially so in the Highlands where the clans were not accustomed to taking any back talk even from the King's Commissioners. Trouble had been accumulating for generations. Baliol had given his friends and supporters grants of land; Bruce had done likewise with the same land, and none of his friends were friends of Baliol. To compound the confusion, King Edward Plantagenet had claimed overlordship and had made grants to *his* friends and retainers. Later kings had done likewise. Many of these grants overlapped and contradicted previous grants and one another; so that the native sons of those sections, with almost no facilities for getting news and no accurate land surveys to set their boundaries, were sadly lacking in information as to who might truly be their overlord. As time went on attempts were made to correct the situation by declaring grants of certain holdings void, even though the grantees had lived there for years, and sometimes for generations. It is no wonder that the inhabitants said "to the deil" with the whole thing, polished up their broadswords and made hash of whoever came to disturb them. Under such circumstances rent collections were not always

⁹ The feu duty (rent to the Crown in lieu of military service) was 500 pounds, about one and three-fourths cents per acre. About half the island was suitable for crops. A very low rent, had the MacDonalds not been involved.

all the King might wish, while a new charter was often the equivalent of a license to fight.

Islay was traditionally a holding of the MacDonalds, but after the power of the Lord of the Isles was broken the islands had been overrun and were the prey of the strongest. Angus MacDonald, the legitimate ruler, had actually lost control. He signed away his rights for 6000 merks paid by John Campbell, and went his way. His son, James MacDonald, was in prison in Edinburgh Castle and did not enter into the agreement, which left a cloudy title for Sir John, since the father of young MacDonald could not sign away his son's rights.

In the meantime the King had promised to help the Campbells to the extent of

"furnessing sex canones with al request provisiounes and two hundred waiged souldiers."¹⁰

The King's Privy Council sent John a long letter of advice and instruction and he moved in. The "canones" were effective; the two castles on the island were surprised and in almost no time Sir John was undisputed sovereign of Islay, in full possession of castles Duniveg and Lochgorme and the lands surrounding.

About this time young James MacDonald escaped from Edinburgh, hurried home and rallied his friends and relatives about him as he sent the fiery cross around Kintyre and Islay. Most of the natives seemed to prefer him to the Campbells and rallied to the fray. MacDonald was soon in full control of his holdings of old and it began to look as if John Campbell's investment of 6000 merks had greatly depreciated in value.

The Privy Council had to act or lose all authority in the territory. They placed the matter in the hands of one of

¹⁰ *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*. "furnishing six cannon with all requisite provisions and two hundred hired soldiers."

We get only a faint picture of Sir Hugh Campbell, Laird of Cawdor, from the family records. One entry in the account book reads:

"Ane pair of dark collored vorsted stokins lairge, especially in the feet."

Among the items purchased for the household are 13 lymondis (lemons) for 2 pounds, 8 shillings, marmelet of Quinshes at 1 pound 16 shillings and a pynt and half of brandie at 1 pound, 16 shillings. At the same time Sir Hugh was having his troubles with the rent money and received notice dated May 6, 1669 that, unless he paid his Majesty's revenues more promptly than he had in the previous year, penalties would be exacted against him even to the selling of some of his property. The notice concluded by stating that "no ease or favor shall be showne."

In 1681 garden seeds were ordered, and here is the list made up almost three hundred years ago. The kinds of seed (in the original spelling) were as follows:

"cabbage, turnip, lettuce, beet, purpie, spinnage, leiks, onions, carrettis, parsneips, beetraws, calleifloweris, sorrell, haistings, peise, Turkish benes, sweit margorie, sparrowgrass, lamblettuce, jellieflower, pennyroyal, gourdseid, holyoache gillie flowers."

In the same year Sir Hugh spent a good deal of time writing to his son who was away at school and in arranging for tapestry to adorn the walls of the castle. The tapestry cost 441 pounds 10 shillings for the weaving and 36 pounds 12 shillings duty. This tapestry, which depicts three episodes in the life of Noah, still hangs over the rough plaster in one bedroom at Cawdor.

It was necessary to provide for the two sons of Sir Hugh, and when Alexander, the oldest, married Elizabeth Lort, a Welsh girl, daughter of Lady Susanna Lort of Stackpole, on September 20, 1688, his father conveyed to him lands valued

at 1000 pounds sterling. This property consisted of the islands of Islay and Jura. Three years later he made over his entire estate to the young couple, subject to a life rent as his part. On February 3, 1693 this conveyance was confirmed by royal charter in favor of Archibald Campbell and heirs male lawfully begotten between him and his wife.

When the younger son Archibald was married to Anna, only daughter of Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, under contract dated March 15, 1689, her father agreed to pay a dowry of 6000 merks. This was looked upon as outrageous by the rest of the Macpherson family, and sixteen of them drew up a bond stating that "without all peradventure our ruine is thereby threatned," and setting forth their determination to combine against all others to maintain a Macpherson as head of the family and the estate. In other words, they served notice on the Campbells—notorious for their tendency to take an ell if given an inch—that any move on their part to take over the Macphersons would be resisted even though the aggressor might have married into the family. The protest must have been effective, for there is no record of any Macpherson subclan under the Campbell domination. Not many came so close and still escaped.

In June 1691 trouble again descended upon the Laird of Cawdor. He wrote as follows to his brother:

"Came two or three parties off Hielanders, one of them caryed away a great many cattel, about one hundred head of cattel. . . . The next partie fell upon my lands in the braes of Altherg . . . and carried away such as they found; about thirtie head and four peice of horss. . . . The third partie fell upon my lands off Boath, but then I was at home and sent my sone Archie and the lightest lads I had after them . . . they were catcht and brought back. . . . Please order the commander-in-chief to lodge one hundred men at Doumalglas and as many more at Ahererdor with a troop of dragoons."

In spite of the depredations by the "Hielanders" we find Sir Hugh favoring the Jacobites in 1715. When Lord Mar issued his proclamation calling out the clans, he issued one to the Cawdor Campbells, calling upon them to join the Mackenzies and Macphersons in a march through Perthshire to Stirling. He likewise empowered Sir Hugh to send such of his grandchildren as he thought, "fittest to raise the men of Islay, Muckairn and other places in Argyllshire and to transport the men of Islay to Argyll and Lorn as shall be most convenient that there they may join the Earl of Breadalbane, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnel, the rest of the legal kindred and some of the clans." Although Sir Hugh was unable to take up arms because of his infirmities, he endorsed the Jacobite plans and urged his grandson to go and do as he himself would have liked to do. Even as late as 1746 we find the Cawdor Campbells leaning to the Jacobite side. In the castle at Nairn you will see the place where Lord Lovat is supposed to have been hidden when he was fleeing for his life from the Culloden disaster.

Today (1947) Cawdor Castle stands in excellent repair beside its little burn. It was visited by the author in July, 1946, and never were host and hostess more gracious than John Campbell, the present Earl, and his Countess, niece of Lord Inverchapel, British Ambassador to the United States. The ancient tapestries still adorn the walls and the Countess stated that it is their plan to have one piece repaired each year. (It is work for experts, a long-drawn-out task.) The old hawthorn tree is still preserved in a lower room and Lovat's Hole, as the attic hide-away is called, can still be visited by clambering over the roof. The garden, after three hundred years, still yields a bountiful crop.

Campbells have every reason to be proud of Cawdor Castle and the people who occupy it.

CHAPTER VI

The Campbells Turn Against the Pope

WHEN THE CAMPBELLS who had survived the battle of Flodden Field straggled home under whatever leadership they had improvised, they found Colin Campbell, son of the dead Archibald, at the head of the clan with the title of third Earl of Argyll. He was mature in experience, having been in charge of various lands and properties awarded to him and his wife, Janet Gordon, daughter of the third Earl of Huntley. At the time of Flodden they had been married several years. Administrators with even minor experience were sorely needed by the Scots after the slaughter of their leaders, and Colin was immediately put to work holding the Western Highlands against the MacLeans, the MacDonalds and others who saw a chance to reestablish the independent status of the Isles while the government was in a weakened state. Upon receiving authority from Parliament to put the rebels¹ down, he first tried persuasion. For a time this seemed effective, but by 1517 open revolt had to be met and Argyll used a strong hand. Military punishment visited upon the unfortunate people of the Isles by Colin's forces prevailed while the rebel leaders fled the country. His prestige and fortune were greatly enhanced by the success of this campaign. The prominent part he played a little later in the Regency set up for James V was largely

¹ The powers granted Argyll in this case were very broad. He was given power of fire and sword and made judge as to who might be received into the King's favor upon making submission and furnishing hostages. Colin maintained that this was necessary "because the men of the Isle are fickle of mind, and set but little value upon their oaths and written obligations."

a reflection of the public influence he had acquired through his work in the West.

But the western clans were not Colin's only stepping stone on his way upward. During his days in the government he saw the Douglas family rise again to great heights of power and when the proper time came he lent a vigorous hand in putting them down. Scotland's history during the whole of Colin's service was greatly influenced by the Douglas family; the country, as often before, was indulging in the luxury of internal wrangles at a time when it could ill afford them. The Clan Campbell cause was well served by its leaders, who from this distance seem to have made no serious political mistakes during the sixteen years that Colin headed them.

The fact that Henry VIII, King of England, was very busy on the Continent was all that prevented his taking Scotland by force after Flodden. Most of the experienced Scottish leaders were dead, the country was divided against itself, and the fifth "James" King in the Stewart line, being less than two years old, was in no position to assert himself in the policies of his country.

The Campbells, too, were somewhat disorganized. They still had much work to do to get things going smoothly in the lands around Castle Campbell, while constructive work in the Western Highlands was delayed by the MacDonald problem which was resting not too comfortably in the Campbell lap. Sir Duncan Campbell, head of the Breadalbane branch of the family had died at Flodden and matters were left to his son Colin, who married Marjory Stewart, daughter of the twin brother of James II.² John Campbell, brother of

² Another brother of these two successful Campbells was Donald, the youngest of the family. He became bishop-elect of Brechin and Abbot of Cupar. In the latter capacity he attended four parliaments held by King James V, was Privy Councilor, Lord of the Articles and Keeper of the Privy Seal. He never assumed the title of bishop of Brechin, the Pope refusing to confirm him, because of his liberal views on the new doctrines. He left five illegitimate sons to each of whom he gave an estate.

the new Earl of Argyll and five years married to the Cawdor inheritance, did not yet have things under control at Nairn, and certain of his envious in-laws were guilty of unlawfully discharging fire arms in his direction. In fact he escaped assassination only because of the bad aim of one of his wife's relatives. He needed help, and got it, along with certain brotherly admonitions from Earl Colin.³

Colin's most important problems, however, lay in the central government. The mother of the two-year-old heir to the kingdom was a sister of the famous King Henry VIII and she came into power at once. At that time the Scottish ruler could, (within limits), will away the crown like any other property, and under the will of James IV, the Queen, his wife, was to be Regent for her son as long as she remained unmarried. Margaret Tudor qualified fully as Henry VIII's sister, both in her relations with the opposite sex and in her will to power; in spite of the awkward qualifying clause in the King's will, she immediately began laying her plans to rule Scotland. As a result the nation was torn by factional strife in which the Queen was involved either openly or behind the scenes. She had been only twenty-four years old and luscious when widowed; and when Parliament appointed a council of four to rule with her she broke it up in a few months by marrying one of the four, the Earl of Angus, a Douglas. Angus was not a strong character and not a successful executive, but he sired a daughter by Margaret who grew up to be the Countess of Lennox, mother of Darnley and grandmother of King James VI of Scotland, who became also King James I of England. Under his rule the two countries were joined and the constantly-recurring warfare ended. Angus was guilty of mistreating his stepson, young James V, the King-to-be, and thus

³ Colin and Marjory had 3 sons, Duncan, John, and Colin, who became successive heads of the Breadalbane Campbells. It was the latter Colin's son Duncan by his 2nd marriage that so greatly advanced the fortunes of this branch of the Campbells.

engendered a hatred which was to follow him all his life and leave him at last an exile from his country.⁴

Knowing that as soon as James came to the throne his own sway would end, Angus did all that was possible to put off the day. He encouraged the boy to interest himself in everything except his coming task of ruling the country and surrounded him with dissolute men and women instructed to keep the young king's thoughts off his inheritance. By act of Parliament Angus, Colin Campbell of Argyll, and two others were each to have the boy a quarter of each year, but Angus refused to give him up at expiration of his three months, "quhilk causit great discord."

According to the King's will, the Queen's marriage vacated the Regency, and Parliament claimed the right to select the Regent. In order to avert a quarrel the Duke of Albany,—traditionally the man to act as Regent—was invited to head the government. Although a Stewart and a grandson of James II, he had been brought up in France and had never been in Scotland. An admiral of the French Navy, with no knowledge of how the Scottish people thought or even spoke, the Duke was inclined to let well enough alone. He was finally persuaded, however, and came to Scotland, landing at Dumbarton Castle on the Clyde, where a year later he established a French garrison. Colin Campbell, Earl of Argyll, and The Douglas, Angus, acted jointly in setting a coronet upon Albany's head when he met with his first Parliament in 1515.

Ten years of pulling and hauling followed that would have completely destroyed a less elastic nation than the Scots. Al-

⁴ The enmity held against The Douglas by James V in later years is shown by his special command made to Foulis, clerk of the Registry, that Parliament be requested to authorize that the dooms of forfeiture later made against The Douglas should be extracted and sealed with the King's seal and the seal of the Estates: "Becaus the memor of traitouris suld remane to the schame and sclander of thame—and becaus bukis may be tint and throw oft handilling be worne away, and in utheris wayis the saidis domes of forfaltour be destroyit." Fraser, *The Douglas Book*.

bany stood it only two years; in 1517 he sailed back to France, leaving the government in the hands of six commissioners, the laymen being Arran, Angus, Huntley and Colin Campbell, while the Church was represented by the Bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews (Beaton). Civil war broke out immediately. The MacDonald trouble in the west, which had never been finally settled, again flared up. The MacDonalds clashed with the Douglas Hamiltons, who lived only a short way up the Clyde, in a conflict that extended even to the streets of Edinburgh. During this time Henry VIII was wooing one set of politicians and secretly financing them, while the French were as strongly on the opposite side. There are records which indicate that an unsuccessful attempt was made to bribe Argyll with English money. The Campbells opposed Henry throughout his lifetime, as they did other meddling English governments for hundreds of years.

The Queen separated from Angus after their daughter Margaret was born and began traveling about with a Stewart named Henry, who became her husband in later years when a divorce finally was obtained from Angus—at great expense for gifts to those interested parties who could help.⁵ In this uproar each leader had his particular ax to grind, and backed the faction which seemed to favor him. In the midst of it all the Regency Commission of which Colin Campbell was a member held the central government together as best it could.

⁵ John Duncan, one of the agents in the divorce matter wrote to the Duke of Albany in 1528 that he had worked with such diligence that sentence was pronounced in the Queen's favor by the Cardinal of Ancona on March 11th of that year. Since the matter was of such weight the Cardinal expected a large reward and Duncan suggested 100 ducats as the amount needed to satisfy him. He stated also that 250 ducats had already been spent, but called attention to the fact that with the sentence now obtained Albany could proceed vigorously against Angus. The use of money to influence church decisions was not unusual in those days. The sale of indulgences was of the same pattern and it all came home to roost on the doorstep of the Catholic Church a little later, when Protestantism became a power to reckon with.

In 1524, tired and worn, after years of struggle, Colin retired to his castle. He was soon recalled, however, to act on a new Regency Commission consisting of Archbishop Beaton, Huntley, and himself. Beaton was made Chancellor. The struggle continued, with several divisions trying to dominate Scotland. The Regency Commission was harried continually by factional opposition.

In the years 1528-29 the wheel took a big turn. James asserted himself and escaped from the Douglas faction which had been holding him practically a prisoner. Colin Campbell who immediately joined him, was appointed Warden of the Marches and traveled with him as one of his most trusted counselors.⁶ One of Colin's last offices was to head the army that drove Angus out of Scotland. Among other positions of trust in addition to service on the Regency Commission, Colin held the office of High Justiciar and Keeper of the King's Household. His daughter had married James, natural son of James IV, and Colin was therefore father-in-law of the King's half brother, James, Earl of Moray. When Colin died he was succeeded by his son Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll, the king's friend and successful head of the Argyll Campbells for twenty-nine years (1529-1558). The fourth Earl was undoubtedly a red-headed Campbell, for we find him referred to occasionally as Archibald Roy.

James V continued his hatred of the Douglas and struck hard at all members of the family. Angus and his brother George were forced to remain in England, and while they were under the ban anyone who communicated with them was suspected of treason. A watch was kept on their sister, Lady Glamis, who had by that time married Archibald Campbell, uncle of the Earl. A trial for treason had been set for

⁶ James V King of Scotland passit and sailit in France accompaneit with Archabald Earl of Argyle, the Earl of Rothess, Sir John Campbell of Calder, schipit with Lordis and Knychtis bot nocht returned to his Kingdome till the 5 day of Sept. 1536." *Black Book of Taymouth*.

her in 1528 when she was still a widow, but the barons were not willing to serve and some of them paid a fine rather than do so. Not being able to persuade his nobles to try her, the King had taken her estates in 1531 and redistributed them.

With this punishment the affair seemed to have blown over, and no doubt she would have been left undisturbed if she had not married again. A relative of her first husband, William Lyon by name, who had wished to marry her himself, took out his spite in persuading the King that she was plotting against his life. Both she and Archibald were seized and sent to prison, with her two sons, a priest, and one or two others.

The charge against her was "attempt to poison the King," but the real charge in the mind of the King was her relationship to the Douglas men who had fled to England. His wrath was high at his inability to get revenge on the men who, he felt, had taken advantage of him in his youth; and the chance to punish this family, even at second hand, was not to be overlooked.

At her trial Lady Glamis spoke eloquently in her own behalf, calling upon the judges to investigate her character and former life, and to bear in mind that she lived at such a distance from the King that it was impossible for her to poison him even if she wished to.⁷ The judges were so impressed with her sincerity and bearing that they asked the King to grant her mercy or at least to defer sentence. But he was determined to have her life, and to have it in the cruelest possible manner. Lady Glamis was burned alive on Castle Hill, Edinburgh. "She was greatly pitied by the spectators," says the

⁷In her speech to the Court she said in part: "It is well known that since my marriage with this unfortunate gentleman I have lived in the country at a great distance from the Court." Archibald Campbell had a fine estate and at one time commanded the third squadron of King James's army, according to a history printed in Paris in 1612, entitled *History of Life and Death of James V of Scotland with the Tragic History of Lady Jean Douglas*, etc. He was the second son of the second Earl of Argyll and brother of Colin the 3rd Earl.

historian Buchanan, for her rank and that of her husband, her blooming youth, uncommon beauty, and the masculine courage with which she suffered." Her major crime, and probably her only one, was that of being a Douglas.

Thomas Clifford, representative of Henry VIII in Edinburgh at the time, wrote to his government that she had been condemned, "without any substanciall ground of proyf of mattir."

Archibald Campbell escaped any accusation of complicity in the poisoning, but his crime of having married a Douglas was not easily overlooked. He remained in prison after the ashes of his wife were scattered over Castle Hill by the four winds. He attempted to escape by sliding down his prison wall by a rope but fell and was killed. His two stepsons remained in prison until the death of James V in 1542, when they were released and their property was restored to them.

Early Scottish politics was often swayed by the King's desire to maintain a balance of power, which he did by playing one strong family against another. This was accomplished in the Western Highlands by pitting the Campbells against the MacDonalds. The favored family leaders were a sort of deputy kings in their territory, but the balance was maintained by never letting one side win too decisively. Thus the government could maintain a continual, if precarious control. Only by achieving positions of authority in the central government could a family make permanent headway, a situation well understood by the Campbells.

By 1515 the groundswell of the Reformation was making itself felt by slight tremors here and there, but they foretold only to a few the coming religious upheaval that eventually tossed down thrones and ruling families and put many a good man under the executioner's ax. Up to the 16th century the influence of the Church on politics was large, but generally predictable. With the coming of the Reformation several

“wild cards” were introduced into the game, which so bewildered many leaders in Scotland and elsewhere that they never learned how to get along with the new political set-up. When the religious feeling was at its height it took an astute man to tread the political maze safely.

The Reformation had several causes. Archbishop David Beaton, in spite of his brilliant statesmanship, and other men like him, high in the councils of the Church who lived their private lives to suit themselves, were one of the causes. In spite of his vows of celibacy, Beaton lived with a woman for twenty years and celebrated openly the marriage of his daughter to the Earl of Crawford’s son.⁸ And he was no exception. According to Robertson, the public records shows more letters of legitimization during the first thirty years after the Reformation than during the two hundred years that followed. These were secured by sons of the Catholic clergy, who wished to have the stain of illegitimacy removed from their families. The work of the Reformation was done in part by earnest Christians who felt they could no longer have their spiritual affairs administered by a church with such leaders, and who were ripe for a change when the new philosophy was propounded.

There were other reasons which influenced men to break with the Church of Rome, some of which had nothing to do with the worship of the Lord. There were political considerations and economic weights and balances which bore down heavily in some cases. The time came when it was difficult for a Catholic to advance politically in Protestant Scotland, and there were those who turned for the benefit it would bring them. Many a fortune was piled high by stealing the very valuable lands and other properties of the Catholic church when the power to defend its holdings was broken.

⁸ “The marriage articles in which she is described as his daughter are still extant.” Robertson. *History of Scotland*.

In short, there were as many reasons for changing from Catholicism to Protestantism in Scotland as there were kinds of men to do the changing. Even international power politics came into play in a very important manner as the years went by.

Henry VIII of England, the principal beneficiary of Flodden Field, was one who started a power play by asking the Pope of Rome to sanction his divorce from Catharina of Aragon, that he might marry Ann Boleyn. Whatever happened in England had its repercussions in Scotland, so this rock that Henry dropped into the political pond was soon making ripples north of the Tweed. King Henry has suffered in history from a bad name as well as for his actual acts, which were indeed bad enough. Not enough credit is given him for building up the strong central government which had to come before the quarreling nobles could be brought to order in England. He put the finances of the country on a better footing and developed the tradition of a strong navy for England, which bore fruit in the reign of Elizabeth when the Spanish Armada was met and conquered.

Those who discredit Henry VIII because of his many wives should remember that he was not in search of more women, for women are a dime a dozen in the life of any man of affairs, if he wishes it to be so, and the King of England was no exception. Henry was after an heir to the throne, and the only way he could get one was to marry a woman who would bear him a healthy child. Furthermore, while the divorce was the immediate bone of contention, the consequent quarrel with Rome could not have been unwelcome to the man who was determined to have no authority of any kind above him.

And so, when Archibald came to head the Argyll Campbells in 1529, Scotland's nearest neighbor was rapidly moving away from the Catholic Church and setting up in the Prot-

estant faith. At the same time the French in-laws⁹ of Scotland's King, James V, were ordering French Protestants slaughtered in bitter religious wars. James was caught between the two Powers each of which was spending money and effort to gain Scotland's support for its religion and bringing all possible personal pressure to bear on him. After listening to the strong representations of Henry VIII that he break with Rome, James decided against it. With the support of his wife James declared for the Catholic side in the struggle. He accepted from Pope Paul III a cap and sword in token of his alliance and submission, thereby serving notice on all concerned, including his Uncle Henry, that he was having nothing to do with the new church for England and the new wife for the English King, who went with it. The Campbells supported this decision. At this time the rest of the Highlanders were Catholic in contrast to the Lowlanders who led the nation in developing Protestantism. The naturally conservative nature of the Highlanders slowed up this change as well as all other changes in their way of living.

About this time the Campbell fortunes received a setback. The MacDonalds of the Isles moved against them again, but this time by negotiation. Alexander, the leader of the Isles faction, was able to convince the King that not only were they his friends, but that the insurrections and risings in that territory were the result of Campbell oppression. James V called Archibald Campbell to account and asked for an audit of rents collected. The figures apparently were bad for Archibald. The next thing he knew he was thinking it over in jail. His confinement was short but his offices were not

⁹ James V King of Scotland was married to Mary of Guise and thus aligned with the strong French family by that name which dominated the political life of France for three generations. They were extreme in their support of the Catholic party. The convictions of James himself were traditionally Catholic and the influence of his wife and her family reinforced them.

restored till after the death of James V. Lack of evidence leaves no basis for judgment as to who was in the right. It may have been spite on the part of James or it may have been fault on the part of Archibald, but given the times, which were rough; the system, which was built to favor the party in power; and the Campbells, who were inclined to tread on their neighbors, it is a good guess that the MacDonalds had a case.

The Campbells had one asset, however, that stood them in good stead. This was the friendship of David Beaton, who had become Archbishop and was very powerful for a time toward the end of the reign of James V and for some years after the King's death. The Campbells came back into power quickly after James died, in part through Beaton's influence.

James V tried to hold the religious lines by laws and edicts which provided, among other things, that no one suspected of heresy could hold public office; while to challenge the authority of the Pope was made a capital offense. Still the Reformation gained ground with support from England, where the enemies of the Pope were active in developing allies who could stand with them against the old religion. Finally in 1542 James died with

“his bak to his lourdis and his face to the wall,”

and left to follow him as temporary ruler of Scotland his son, James Stewart, a bastard, but a smart man who became Earl of Moray and Regent; the King also left a six-day-old daughter who inherited his crown and whose story has been told a thousand times, for she was the famous Mary, Queen of Scots, accused in due time of many crimes, including adultery, murder, and treason; and whose head in the final accounting, was carried away in an English basket. In Mary's time the Campbells were closely intermarried with the Stewarts and their fortunes were strongly affected by those of the royal family.

Upon the death of James V a regency committee was immediately appointed to protect the interests of the baby girl, Mary, and to preserve as much order as possible in Scotland. The committee consisted of Arran,¹⁰ Moray, Huntley, Beaton and Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll, with Beaton as Chancellor. The platform of most of these men was, as always, an independent Scotland free from foreign domination, but Arran, who followed the royal children as heir to the Crown, instituted a scheme to unite Scotland and England under one ruler. He proposed that the son of Henry VIII become King of both countries through marriage with Mary. In the light of history this was one of the wisest moves Arran ever attempted, but he was ahead of his time. Archibald Campbell of Argyll opposed the idea with vigor, and so did others who felt it might circumscribe their power. The plan failed, with Henry in his anger trying to take by force what he had failed to get by intrigue. The war that followed was called "The Rough Wooing" (1543-1548), and rough it was on the broad shoulders of the Scots. They fought various disastrous battles in this "wooing," with Archibald Campbell in command of a portion of the army, which performed with no credit to him or to Scotland.¹¹ At this time the Campbells

¹⁰ Arran was a Hamilton. The Hamiltons were descendants of the Stewarts through Mary, daughter of James II. She married James Hamilton, made Earl of Arran by James II. Archibald Campbell was married to Helen Hamilton, daughter of the 1st Earl of Arran. She became the mother of Archibald, 5th Earl of Argyll, which made him a great grandson, through his mother's family, of James II—another example of the close relationships of the Scottish ruling families. The families were limited in number and not too many choices were available if matches were limited to families of equal standing and importance, as was the policy at that time.

¹¹ At the disastrous battle of Pinke September 10, 1547 Archibald Campbell commanded the right wing, consisting of 4000 West Highland soldiers. By March of the following year his military record was so poor that he felt called upon to deny that he favored the English. He redeemed himself however at the siege of Haddington where he was made a Knight of the Cockle by the French, who had come over to help their Catholic friends against the English Protestants.

were still Catholics and the war against England had religious as well as political implications.

By 1540 Archibald had received a renewed grant of all his lands, although not of his offices, and this was less than twelve months after Thomas Forres of Dollar was martyred in Edinburgh for his liberal religious beliefs. Dollar is less than a good Scotch mile from Castle Campbell, and certainly Archibald must have known of the ill fate that overtook his neighbor. Archibald acquiesced if he did not part in this crime and others of like nature. For years he and Beaton worked together like brothers, what one did not think of the other did; and both of them did a lot of thinking on the subject of how to keep the new religion down and their own fortunes up.

In 1543 the Earl, through the favor of Beaton, received a grant of St. Andrew lands in Muckart,

“for services rendered to the Cardinal and the Church. . . . at that dangerous time when Lutheran heresies were springing up on every side.”

In 1544, during the “rough wooing,” Beaton was a guest, or perhaps we should say a fugitive, for two days in Castle Campbell; and no doubt his influence had a good deal to do with Archibald’s militant support of Catholic policy. Just why he turned against it all is unknown, but he did. Apparently he was the first man of his standing in the realm to become a Protestant. However the change did not prevent him from keeping the various grants of land and money which had been the rewards of his anti-reform stand in earlier years.

In 1545 Wishart, the Protestant representative of England, was burned at the stake before the Castle at St. Andrews. The Catholic Archbishop Beaton was murdered there shortly afterward and left to hang on the Castle wall, after being mutilated in such a way as to bring out the murder’s impatience

with his sexual looseness. The religious wars were running to fire and sword, with Highland Scotland strongly Catholic and the Lowlands supporting the new Protestantism. But Archibald, in spite of his leadership of the Campbells of Argyll in the Highlands, was living more or less continuously at Castle Campbell in the Lowlands where he came under the influence of John Knox, the Protestant preacher. Some time around 1550 the leader of the Campbells became a Protestant, which meant that all the Campbells did the same thing whether they lived east or west, in the Highlands or in the Lowlands. The family loyalty accorded their leader by Scottish clansmen made his fortune their fortune and his beliefs theirs to support and no questions asked.

In 1556, two years before he died, Archibald Campbell entertained John Knox at Castle Campbell. Knox wrote of this occasion in the third person:

“He passed to the old Erle of Ergyle who then was in Castell of Campbell, where he taught certain doyis. (days) The Lard of Glenarquhare being one of auditouris, willed the said Erle of Ergyle to reteane him still, but he, purposed upon his journey, would not att that tyme stay for no requeast.”

At Castle Campbell visitors may still see the grassy slope on which John Knox stood as he preached to the assembled family and retainers of Archibald Campbell, (which included the leader of the Breadalbane Campbells), and afterward distributed the holy sacrament.

In 1558 the old Earl died, strong in the Protestant faith and exhorting his son from his deathbed to beware of the evils of Papistry and continue his opposition to Rome. But turning Protestant in the sixteenth century did not settle things for all time; the religious troubles of the Campbells were not over. Would they stay Protestant? And which wing of the Protestant Church would they eventually support? These decisions were yet to be made—decisions that took a great knocking of heads together before becoming final.

CHAPTER VII

The Campbells Arrive Alongside Gloom Hill Betwixt Care and Sorrow

TWELVE MILES EAST of ancient Stirling, at a point where the Ochils hump their shoulders and cut off the cold north wind, lies the little town of Dollar, in Clackmannanshire.¹ Prominent in the village is the Castle Campbell Hotel—fair warning to visitors that in their study of ancient landmarks they have come to another stopping place. Castle Campbell, alongside Gloom Hill (in ancient days spelled Glown), stands high above the town where it has looked down on the valley of the Devon for almost five hundred years. Its construction was started about the year Columbus was born, as nearly as we can determine.. Without being too dogmatic as to the year, we may say that the castle was begun about 1450, but revisions and additions were made from time to time thereafter so that some portions of the castle are older than others. The tower is the oldest part of all.

Castle Campbell was not fashioned by an architect destined to be famous for the beauty of his design. Like the farmer's sweetheart, it is "not very handsome for pretty but mighty good looking for stout." It was built strictly for the practical purpose of keeping enemies out and friends safe within. The walls of the tower, seven and a half feet thick, give eloquent testimony to that fact. The sixty-foot tower was originally designed without a window, which gave it a gloomy and sinister interior. It was well named Castle Gloom.

In the bottom of the tower is the great hall which was the

¹ *Clack* (Stone).

general room where lords and ladies met under the lights of the big chandeliers. This hall is roofed over with a wide arch of masonry and is today the part in best preservation. The carved sockets from which the chandeliers once hung are still there; the floor has been worn smooth during the hundreds of years of occupancy.²

The Laird's room was above the hall in the second story of the tower. A winding stair extended past it to bedrooms under the roof. Unless you have been trained to fight with the sword you will miss the significance of the stair's spiraling to the right, which gave swinging room to the right-handed man standing on it to repel invaders, and handicapped the men pushing up from below. Stand on a spiral stair some time and try to swing a cane and you will see the advantage of this type of construction. The Campbells and Stewarts built for a fight and gave away none of their advantages. The tower stands in the corner of the enclosure with ranges running off to the right and left. A courtyard surrounded by a wall completes the enclosed fortified space.

The site for the castle was picked by a man with an eye for defense. From only one direction can it be approached by any kind of conveyance. From the northeast comes the little burn, the Care, and from the northwest a larger stream, the Sorrow. They flow, one on each side of the castle, at the bottom of deep glens (170 feet at the deepest), so that the castle overlooks a natural moat. These streams unite just below the castle to form the Dollar, and leave the terrain so steep and difficult on three sides that only the most determined enemy could approach at all, while an approach in face of a defense would be impossible. Only over the cart road which climbs the hill from the south and curves like a fishhook, behind the castle could an enemy come; and even there the defense

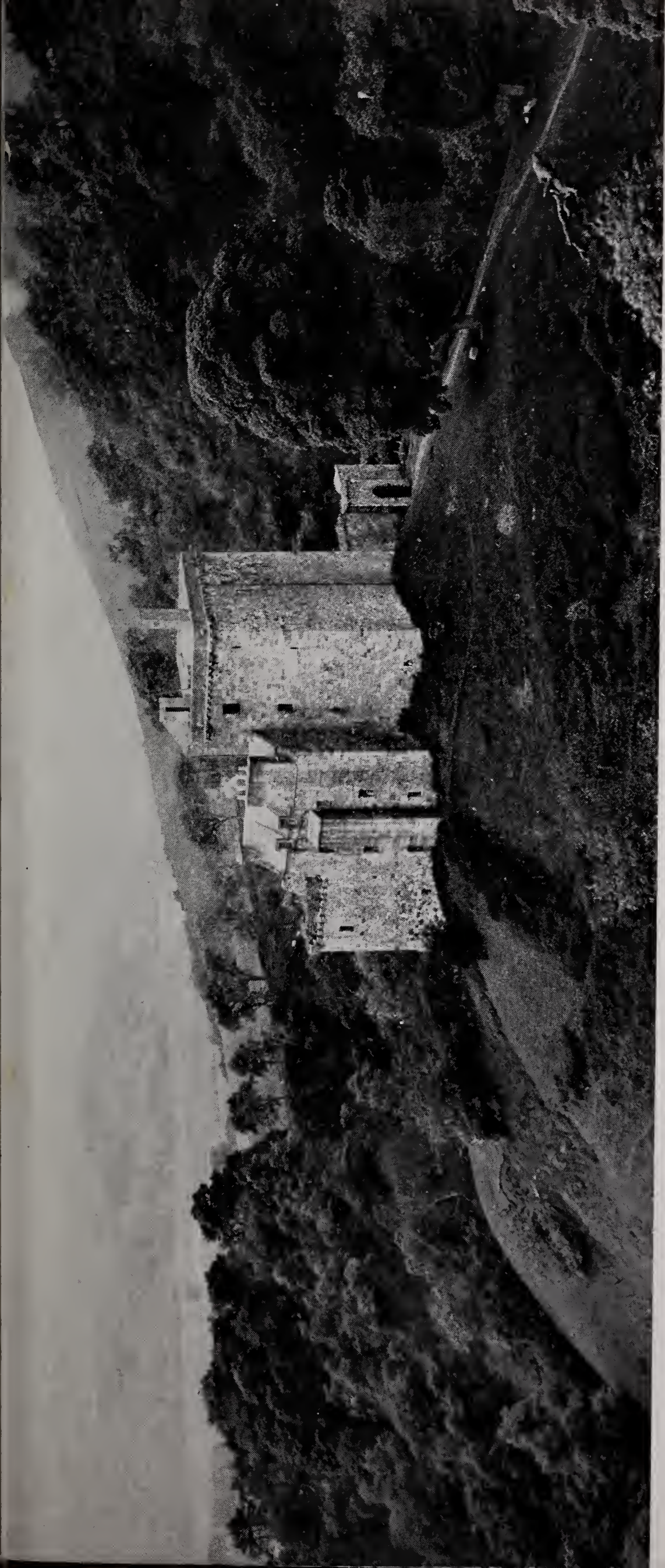
² Actual dimensions of tower: width 30½ feet; length 42½ feet; height 59¼ feet; thickness of walls 7½ feet.

would have great advantage. Castle Campbell was superb as a fortress, but as a place to live in it leaves certain things to be desired. The word *gloom* just about tells the story.

No one knows whence came all the sad names that adorn the territory. There is a legend that a young daughter of the nobility was imprisoned there in the early days and in her repining gave the name of Gloom to the hill opposite the names Care and Sorrow to the noisy burns on each side, and the name Dolour to the valley viewed from the hill—the latter becoming Dollar in due time. There are other explanations, but none have any assured authenticity, so perhaps the legend may as well stand. The view is beautiful in summer. Winter may be another matter.

The Stewarts built the first section of the castle and from it ruled the countryside. How much they held is not certain, nor is it known how long they lived at Dollar before the castle was started; but in time the Campbells ruled two parishes, Dollar and Muckhart; and it may be that the Stewarts also controlled this territory before they gave way to the Campbells about the year 1465. Tradition says that the Black Knight of Lorne lived there with his bride, the widow of James I, which may well be true, since James, murdered in 1437, left a young widow who married the Stewart in question; however she died in July, 1445, which may have been before the present castle was started. There may have been an earlier edifice than Castle Campbell on Gloom Hill, but no one knows.

The Black Knight of Lorne was the uncle of that Stewart, Lord of Lorne and Innermeath, who was a neighbor of the Argyll Campbells, the MacDonalds and the MacDougals in Argyllshire. The title Lord of Lorne was taken from the MacDougals and passed on to the Stewarts by King Robert Bruce. However, there came a time when the Stewarts were in a fair way to lose it for lack of a male heir. The Knight's le-



Ancient and Historical Monuments, Royal Commission

CASTLE CAMPBELL — BUILT BY PEOPLE WHO THOUGHT THE WORLD WAS FLAT

Castle Campbell was begun even before Columbus put to sea in search of a shorter route to India, and the builders worked away serene in the belief, held at that time by all mankind, that the world was flat and anyone who sailed too near the edge had better watch out.

Castle Campbell on Gloom Hill has stood looking down the Valley of the Devon for almost 500 years. From here Colin Campbell went to Stirling to be Chancellor of Scotland, one of six such appointments for Campbell leaders before 1650; from here a leader of the Campbells marched to his death on Flodden Field September 9, 1513, along with King James of Scotland and most of his followers; here Mary, Queen of Scots came to visit her brother-in-law, Archibald Campbell, fifth Earl of Argyll, on January 10, 1563; and on the greensward in front of the castle John Knox preached and dispensed the Lord's Supper.

gitimate family consisted of three girls, and it seemed certain that one of them would carry the title to her husband. The Campbells understood the situation and, they saw to it that the girls all married Campbells. The net was spread, and with Argyll sitting with the King daily as an officer of the Crown and confidential adviser, no way out for the Stewarts seemed possible except one day to see Colin Campbell take over the Stewart holdings and the title Lord of Lorne.

It happened, however, that Stewart had an illegitimate son who was grown and quite capable of assuming the title if a way could be found to make him the preferred heir. About that time Stewart's wife died, and Stewart moved at once to marry the mother of this boy. This marriage no doubt would have given the title to the new heir, for there was plenty of precedent for it in spite of the fact that some people in Scotland argued that marrying a child's mother after its birth did not legitimize it.³ Stewart, however, completed his plans for the wedding and arranged to meet the boy's mother at Dunstaffnage Castle. Just as the ceremony was to be performed a MacDougal sprang out from hiding and stabbed Stewart to death. Pandemonium followed. The son shouted to rally the guests to hunt the murderer, while the priest shouted to the prospective bride to come and be married while there was still breath in His Lordship. In the confusion no one knows whether she said her vows over a living man or a corpse. She and her friends claimed he was alive, the Campbells claimed he was dead, and the subsequent hearings on the subject were well disputed. So intense became the family fight that although the wife of Argyll came into pos-

³ Ample precedent for the benefit of young Stewart was to be found. King Robert II, having had children by Elizabeth Mure, then married Eupham, daughter of the Earl of Ross, and by her had the Earls of Strathern and Athol. Upon her death the King married his first love, Elizabeth Mure, which gave her children precedence according to the King, and was so declared by Act of Parliament. See John G'uillim, *Heraldry*.

session of Castle "Glowm" in 1465, it being so certified by the Bishop of Dunkeld, the next year it was necessary to issue a papal bull against Walter Stewart, uncle of Lady Campbell, because he "had demolished a certain dwelling with a tower of the place of Glowm standing in the territory of Dolar." It would seem that he was in no end of a bad humor about the affair.

How much the Campbells may have had to do with the assassination no one knows, and what the MacDougals hoped to gain by wielding the dagger is a mystery. The whole dispute finally resolved itself into the necessity for getting a decision by the King and he, having a good officer in Argyll who had served the Crown well, decided as his heart and good politics would dictate; especially since at the same time the Campbells were inclined to compromise. An agreement entered

"on the last day November 1469 between Colin, Earl of Argyll and Walter Stewart, Lord Lorne provides for the transfer of the Lordship of Lorne to the Earl by the resignation of Lord Walter into the hands of the King for a regrant to the Earl and heirs. The Earl agreed . . . to resign the lands of Kildonying, and others in the shires of Perth, Fife, Kintross and Aberdeen, with the crownship of the whole Sherifffdom of Perth."

And so the Campbells came into another title of ancient and honorable lineage and a seat near Stirling and Edinburgh where they could have a permanent home close to the King and the seat of government. With traveling difficult at the time it is self-evident that the Earl of Argyll required a seat much closer to the Capital than Argyllshire if he were to continue to do much of the work of governing Scotland. Many a favorable decision had been had for less reason.⁴

⁴ On the Argyll Campbell coat of arms is a "ship" known as a lymphad or galley. This device for the shield was acquired along with the title Lord of Lorne and betokens descent from Somerled, the famous Lord of the Isles of the MacDonald line. Thus is traced the relationship of the Campbells, Stewarts, MacDonalds and MacDougals.

Although the Campbells temporarily lost possession of their castle at least twice in the next 350 years, when they were caught on the wrong side of the political fence, they always got it back, and it remained a family possession until 1807, when it was sold. There is an experience well worth the trouble for the man who will climb the well-worn stairs to the top of the tower of Castle Campbell and look about. The rolling landscape of County Clackmannan is spread out below. The countryside is peaceful, without a sound save the water falling in the glens and the occasional call of a bird. It is not difficult to understand the delight Archibald Celestine Campbell, the first of the clan to live here, felt when he stood on this tower and was laird of all he surveyed. Just below is the top of Kemp's Score, a slot in the rocks that runs upward from the glen perpendicularly for about a hundred feet and is from four to six feet wide. At one time it was possible to descend from the castle to the burn below at this point by the aid of rude steps cut in the sides. This was to be the "escape hatch" for the garrison if ever the time came to abandon the castle under siege. It also insured plenty of water for the besieged if it were necessary to supplement the supply provided by the well within the walls. While these extremes never came to pass, Kemp's Score was a decidedly important factor in the safety of the Castle and no doubt played its part in the choice of the stronghold location.

The origin of the name Kemps Score is a point over which there has been a good deal of discussion. There are those who say that it was named for a robber who lived in the ravine of the Care and the Sorrow and finally came to a bad end when he stole the King's provisions from Dunfermline Palace, about twelve miles away, and was chased into the ravine and killed. The story goes that his head was cut off, washed free of blood and dirt in the burn, and then carried to the King. In his *Guide to Castle Campbell*, however, Alexander Drysdale

points out that the Gaelic words *crum scoir*, mean "rock staircase" and we who have seen the warping of Scottish names into almost unintelligible derivatives, think his point may be well taken.⁵ At any rate, the visitor must walk carefully as he skirts the ravines which surround the castle. It is easy to break your neck in the neighborhood of Gloom Hill. No one should leave here without visiting the glens below, for they have the wild beauty found in such places as AUSAble Chasm and Watkins Glen in America.

The historians tell us that many an interesting event transpired on this hill. In 1478, on the 21st day of April, a cavalcade moved out of the gate and down the hill to the parish church of Dollar, where "Elen Campbell, daughter of Colin, Earl of Argyll, and Lord of Campbell and Lorne, was married to Hugh, Lord of Montgumre."

This Argyll before his death obtained an act of Parliament on February 3, 1490 whereby:

"Oure Soverane lord of his Ríale authorite at the desire and supplicacioun of his cousing and traist consalour, Coline Erle of Ergile, lord Campbele and Lorne, his chancellare, has changit the name of the castell and place quhilk was callit the Gloume pertenyng to his said cousing. And in this his present parliament makes mutacion and changeing of the said name and ordinis the Saymn castell to be callit in tyme to cum Campbele."

From this Castle went the Commander of the left wing of the Scottish army at Flodden Field, never again to see his tower on the hill. His son, the famous John Campbell, who married Muriel of Kilravock, daughter of Hugh Rose, and founded the Cawdor branch of the Campbell clan, surely lived here at times. Whether or not Muriel was brought to Gloom Hill for her "education" is not stated in history, but since

⁵ There is another possible explanation given in *Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland*: Kemp's Score or Cutt: "from its having been made by one of that name; who is said to have been a man of gigantic stature and strength." A kemp was a folk name for a giant.

she was a ward of Argyll for eight years before her marriage it is not at all unlikely that the Great Hall often echoed to her footsteps.

Being closely related to the royal family, the Campbells entertained visitors of high degree in the castle from time to time. There are ample accounts of Queen Mary's visit from January 10 to 12, 1563, to attend the wedding of Argyll's sister Margarate to the Lord of Doune; while at a later date the earls Argyll and Moray plotted in the rooms under the tower to seize Darnley, the proposed bridegroom of Mary Stuart, as he and his father journeyed north for the wedding. The plan included the imprisonment of Darnley in the dungeon of Castle Campbell. Darnley eluded the conspirators, however. Later the Queen had her revenge, for after she married Darnley she took the castle and held it for a time against Argyll, husband of her half sister Jean. As in many family fights of those days however, the participants cooled after a while and the queen pardoned the Earl, gave him back his lands and castle and made him General of her forces.

As we view the main gate which for 350 years swung open or closed as the laird of the Campbells dictated, we can vision the bits of life and death history enacted in this courtyard. The poacher and the sheep stealer were dragged in to be taught a lesson by a term in the dungeon, or if Argyll decided that more severe measures were needed there was always the Maiden Tree, a big sycamore that stood by the wall and which had a strong level branch at convenient height for placing a rope. Many a man stood at the base of this tree for his last look at earth and sky and was hoisted at a signal from the Earl. In those days the laird had full power of life and death over his retainers, and if he decided that some one should be hanged, then hanged he was forthwith, and an end to it.

In the crude, rough days of the early Campbells it took a man of iron to govern, and yet a man who was just in his

rule, stern though it might be. Lord Macaulay, in his History of England, makes the unqualified statement regarding one of the earls of Argyll that no other leader in Scotland could command such loyal following from his vassals as the leader of Clan Campbell. Those who have served as soldiers know that such loyalty is based only on confidence and trust built up in the minds of the men by a stern acceptance of responsibility and by a record of successful accomplishment on the part of their leader. Rough though they were, Campbell leaders understood the human nature they had to deal with and applied the right treatment for the times.

But there came a day when the Campbells were caught in the political maze of the great revolution which broke about the head of Charles I, and had their castle burned by Cromwell. As one stands off and looks at Castle Campbell it would seem beyond destruction by flames, but it must be remembered that the interiors of all the castles of Scotland and England were of wood, and well dried wood at that. It was common practise, therefore, when an invading army found no further use for a stronghold, to set fire to the wooden interior and burn it out. Occasionally the walls were torn down also, but that was a laborious job, not often undertaken.

Argyll was forced to take sides in Cromwell's civil war, his position being such that neutrality was impossible. The MacLeans were loyal to the Crown, which put them on the other side; and besides, they had a score to settle with the Campbells, for Argyll had plundered the holdings of the Earl of Airlie and had burned his house in 1640.⁶

When Montrose, leader of the English Royal forces, marched north to subdue Fife in 1645, he marched near Castle Campbell and gave the MacLeans free rein. The garrison was intimidated and stayed holed up in its stronghold while the

⁶ Read the poem "The Bonnie Hoose of Airlie" which commemorates the burning. (Appendix)

MacLeans broke up into parties that scattered over the countryside and left only two houses unburned in all Dollar and Muckhart, and those were spared by mistake. They were near the border of the two parishes and the MacLeans thought they belonged to some one else. Argyll did nothing but sit in his tower and watch the smoke roll over his estates. When he was criticised for not going out to fight the scattered bands of house burners his only action was to discharge the governor of his castle and appoint a new one. He saved his castle this time, although he lost everything else but the land on which his vassals lived. Later, in revenge, Argyll burned the neighboring estates of Menstril and Airthrie, which belonged to Royalists. Thus, while the leaders quarreled the common people suffered, as is usual in war.

The burning of the castle came during the rising of the Earl of Glencairn. On July 29th of that year General Monck wrote Cromwell that "some small parties of the enemy were abroad in the country and on Monday and Tuesday night last burnt Castle Campbell, an house belonging toe the Marquesse of Argyll."⁷

The Castle was rebuilt, we do not know when or by whom, for the Marquis of Argyll was beheaded by Charles II on his return to power. The rebuilding job, at whatever date, must have been carried out by some one else.

Castle Campbell stands today, as always, in the midst of a scenic landscape. It is a long climb up the hill from Dollar, but the visitor is well repaid. No Campbell on tour should visit Scotland without making a trip to Castle Campbell.

⁷ Guide to Dollar.

CHAPTER VIII

Mary, Queen of Scots, Leads Her Campbell In-Laws into Trouble

KING JAMES V DIED leaving behind him a land filled with religious dissension. He left also a crop of children by his wife and various lady friends. To have stepped into the middle of either heritage would have provided plenty of problems for any man no matter how great his ability, but Archibald Campbell, fifth Earl of Argyll, who headed the Campbells for fifteen years (1558-1573) after the death of the "Old Earl," asked for trouble in a big way. He not only took his place in the government on the Protestant side in opposition to the ruling family, but married trouble by taking to wife Jean Bethune, whose father was the King and whose mother was the daughter of Sir John Bethune of Craich. Jean either was or became Protestant when she joined the Campbells as Lady Argyll, but that did not prevent her from being for years the favorite companion of her Catholic half sister Mary, Queen of Scots, with great mental perturbation resulting to her husband. In fact, before the Stewarts got through with him, he was literally having fits.¹

In addition to marrying a Stewart, Archibald developed as his political confidant the King's natural son, Lord James Stew-

¹ Jean and Archibald Campbell were eventually divorced, she charging him in her action with having two illegitimate sons; which comes with not too good grace from a woman who never drew a legitimate breath in her life. It is true however, that the Earl had at least five illegitimate children. Jean, his daughter, married a distant cousin who was Laird of Ardnamurchan and was made a Baronet in 1628. None of Archibald's children were eligible to succeed him. The sixth Earl of Argyll was Colin Campbell, his brother.

art, Earl of Moray, at one time Regent of Scotland. This James was a brilliant man and a leader true to the best Stewart tradition. He was older than Archibald and is credited with doing much to steady the Campbell leader in his earlier days. Eventually they broke and stood on opposite sides in Queen Mary's final battle, but for many years their combined strength was a bulwark for the Protestant cause.

Archibald was born about 1530. Following a common custom, his father promptly designated him heir apparent. By the time the boy was able to talk plainly his father had settled upon him the various Campbell holdings, reserving for himself only a life interest. According to Scots Peerage the Campbell estate at that time included:

1. Holdings around Castle Campbell in Clackmannan County and in the counties Fife, Perth and Edinburgh.
2. Holdings in Argyllshire, including the baronies of Lochow, Glenurchy, Over Cowall and the barony of Tarbert.
3. Abernathy.
4. Lordship and barony of Lorne, Kilmun, Dunoon and islands.
5. Lands in Cowall.
6. The hereditary offices for Argyll, Lorne, Knapdale and Kintyre.

This illustrates the extent to which the affairs of the Campbells had expanded, especially if we remember the strides made by others of the family—the Cawdors, the Breadalbanes and the Loudouns. The Campbells had reached a place of importance in the politics of Scotland and any leader expecting to take part in the affairs of the Kingdom was bound to consider, among other things, what the Earl of Argyll might think of it.

The years of Mary's childhood and adolescence were trouble-filled for Scotland, and the Campbells were in the thick of the trouble. A proposal was made in 1558 to have the Earl of Argyll and James Stewart, his brother-in-law, carry offer

of the crown matrimonial to Francis, Dauphin of France and husband of Queen Mary.² The two commissioners refused to act, and Francis of France was never invited to become King of Scotland. This was one of many occasions when this pair combined to influence history. They prevented Mary of Guise from bringing French soldiers into Stirling in 1559, and when, in 1561, Mary Queen of Scots would have had a Catholic High Mass sung in Stirling Castle, "The Earl of Argyll and Lord James so disturbed the quire that some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears."³

The fifth Earl of Argyll had hardly got his chair warm as head of the Campbells when, in 1560, the question of religion came before the Estates (the national assembly supposed to represent all factions in Scotland). The meeting was packed by the Protestants, and they controlled the vote, although they were a minority of the total population of Scotland. Strict rules of religious observance were passed, including a law providing severe penalties for hearing or saying mass. The first offense carried the loss of all property, the second meant banishment, and for the third the penalty was death. These laws might have been intolerable in a country where over half the people honestly believed that such religious observance was essential for their afterlife and could have added riot to the ruin already visited upon the country. The day was saved because the laws were not enforced. They were, however, a constant threat hanging over the heads of the Catholics of Scotland.

Most of the nobles, including the Earl of Argyll were either

² Mary and the Dauphin were married in 1558 and succeeded to the Crown of France the next year upon the death of Henri II. The lance of a Scot named Montgomery was splintered when jousting in a tournament with the King and one of the splinters passed through the eye piece in the King's helmet, pierced his head, and killed him.

³ *Ordnance Gazetteer*.

on the Protestant side or wavering. Few were outright Catholics. Mary Stuart had been brought up a devout Catholic, and was married to the Catholic King of France. The old breach between the nobles and the Stewarts was thus widened with resulting loss of prestige for Scotland, to say nothing of the strain this division put upon the body politic. Of all differences, the religious one is the most difficult to heal and the one most open to passion and intolerance. Scotland was "in for it."

If Mary had stayed in France the religious dissension might not have become so acute, but her husband died in the very year that Catholicism was outlawed in her home country and she announced her decision to return to the throne of Scotland. As wife of the King of France she had been important in her adopted country; as his widow she was excess baggage. So, after considerable delay, she packed up, dodged the English warships which she believed were waiting to take her prisoner as she crossed the Channel and went home in midsummer, 1561. After she arrived safely the English denied having had any thought of molesting her but they certainly would have been glad to see an accident befall her. She had enraged them by declaring the children of Henry VIII illegitimate and had calmly signed herself Queen of England, which she would have been lawfully if, according to Catholic rules, Elizabeth had been found ineligible to the throne.

Looking back on the reign of Mary, it would seem that she came to Scotland filled with a high purpose and a firm determination to be a good and true Queen of all the people. She more than half succeeded, and had she not been caught in the midst of a religious controversy it is likely she would have gone all the way to be revered as one of Scotland's great. But the whirlwind was too much for a girl not yet twenty when she came into her inheritance.

During her five years on the throne she worked hard

to win the respect of her people and to be accepted as Queen of all the Scots, whatever their religion. She tried to get close to her subjects, and to this end traveled about the country, stopping at one castle and another to meet them. During the summer of 1563 she visited the Campbells at Inveraray, and also at Dunoon to meet the family of her half sister, Lady Argyll, with whom she passed the time in deer hunting. At that time Argyll was in her favor and, in correspondence with the Earl she addressed him as "dear brother," and signed herself "your richt good sister and best friend forever." Again in January, 1563, Queen Mary was the guest of her Campbell relatives at Castle Campbell to help celebrate the marriage of Margarate Campbell, sister of the Earl, to the Lord of Doune, son of Sir James Stewart. (Through this marriage Margarate became mother of an Earl of Moray).⁴ The wedding celebration took place from January 10 to 12, 1563, and in his report for that month the English ambassador stated that:

"The Queen was kept to her bed for five or six days after the evil journey at Castle Cammell."

There is a question as to just what is meant here by the word evil. It may well have been descriptive of the Scottish winter weather or, and more likely, the lack of comfortable quarters for living and sleeping. January in the Gloom Hill neighborhood might well be evil enough so far as the action of the elements is concerned, and certainly none too comfor-

⁴ Their son James married the eldest daughter of Lord James Stewart, Regent and 1st Earl of Moray, and received the title through his wife. This was the Bonnie Earl of Moray who lost his life through the jealousy of James VI. After his murder his mother Margarate kept his body unburied for seven years as an incentive to revenge. When the Bonnie Earl's son succeeded to the title of third Earl of Moray it was with the understanding that he would bury his father. The families were brought into closer relationship by the marriage of James's (Bonnie Earl) mother-in-law (widow of the murdered Regent) to Colin Campbell, sixth Earl of Argyll and Uncle of James.

table within the walls of the old castle where fireplaces were the only source of heat and the plumbing was strictly of the "open" variety. The Queen was bent however, on knowing and winning her people, and apparently felt the Campbells to be especially close to her.

Mary's troubles steadily increased. Religious war broke out in France and was reflected by increased tension in Scotland. Both sides feared massacres and saw plenty about them to warrant uneasiness. John Knox, whose preaching was at all times inflammatory, was continually prodding the Protestants to further action and the same high feeling that had caused the murder of Beaton brought other bloody clashes.

Strong hints had been dropped to the Queen to give up her religion or "perish in her iniquity" and it was plain that by "perish" they didn't mean that she should die of old age in bed.

Civil war seemed just ahead, with hardly a soul in her kingdom she could trust. Her half brother, James Stewart, joined with the Lords of the Congregation about 1560 to enforce repressions of the Catholic Church, and Archibald Campbell was also aiding and abetting the Protestants. She needed a man to stand beside her and support her cause even to the extent of commanding her army, so, with the expressed opposition of her half brother James Stewart and her brother-in-law Archibald, who met together in Castle Campbell and plotted to stop the marriage, she united herself with a young man three years her junior named Darnley—a Stewart⁵ of the Sword Arm line. His father was Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, and his mother was born Margarate Douglas, daughter of Margarate Tudor and of Angus, the Douglas.

⁵ Mary spelled her name Stuart—the first of her line to do so. "Stewart is the old Scots spelling, the other—namely, Stuart—having been gradually adopted in deference to the infirmity of the French language, which is deficient in that sinewy letter—a half-breed between vowel and consonant—which we call W." John Hill Burton, *The Scot Abroad*.

By this marriage Darnley sealed his death warrant, but at the same time made possible the union of Scotland and England under one crown. Both Darnley and Mary, being grandchildren of Margaret Tudor, had claims on the English throne which met in their son James VI. Under him the long-fought-over Border became an imaginary line. Let every man, woman, and child in Great Britain be thankful for that. Darnley is commonly set down as a dolt and a failure, but historians should remember that he got the Queen with child which was all that was needed to combine the two realms under one head and thus fashion one of the world's Great Powers. Where is there another man who died in his twenty-first year who did so much with so little effort? Had the same been done for Ireland we should not now have Great Britain fighting her wars with a wide open flank, and the Irish could be enthusiastic partners in the glory of the British Empire.

In spite of her brother, the Earl of Moray, and her brother-in-law, Archibald, the plan to seize Darnley before the wedding and imprison him and his father in Castle Campbell went astray. The English were in the plot with Argyll and Moray; immediately after the wedding Moray rose in arms against the royal pair with the support of Queen Elizabeth. But the rising was a sad failure. Moray was able to assemble only a few hundred men and Argyll, seeing how things were going, stuck to his castle and didn't come out at all. On September 9, 1565 Randolph wrote to Cecil in England:

"The Queen this day left Sterling and by the way will take if she can Castle Cammel and Loughleven."

The Queen did take Castle Campbell and both Moray and Argyll were in jeopardy. They fled to England, where Queen Elizabeth added nothing to their security or peace of mind by disowning the whole business. She had suddenly become aware that both France and Spain were asking embar-

rassing questions about her fomenting rebellion in a neighboring state and she countered in typical Elizabethan style by denying she had ever done it and refusing to recognize her co-conspirators. Argyll, Moray, and company were definitely on the end of a limb and action was needed promptly before it was sawed off.

Their desperate plight is their only excuse for the plot they helped hatch against Queen Mary. She was five months pregnant, and sick; she was trying her best to rule Scotland honestly, albeit a Catholic best, and therefore not to be countenanced by the Protestants; especially those whose castles, lands, and emoluments she had taken by force. Some historians say that some of the plotters intended to kill the Queen. Others say that the only victim was to be Rizzio, her Italian secretary, and the crime was to be done in her chambers, so that a scandal could be whipped up which would ruin her reputation. The intention was to declare or imply that her coming child was a bastard of Rizzio and not a true heir to the throne.

The Douglas family was at the bottom of the plot, for they had coveted power in Scotland from the days of Bruce. The others came into it because of their need of relief from exile. Of the actual killers, one was George Douglas, bastard half brother of Darnley's mother, Lady Lennox, and another was Lord Ruthven, husband of the bastard half sister of Lady Lennox and therefore Darnley's uncle by marriage.

Darnley was involved in the plot for he was a headstrong youth and had quarreled bitterly with the Queen. He was promised the crown by the conspirators if Mary could be removed, and he in turn had promised many things—including strong support for Protestantism as the state religion. The English, perhaps Queen Elizabeth herself and certainly Sir William Cecil, her secretary and privy councilor, were involved in it.

On a Saturday night early in March, 1566, the trap was sprung in the Queen's apartment in Holyrood Palace. The Earl of Bedford and Thomas Randolph, the English agent in Scotland, wrote in a joint report to the Lords of the Council in England that:

"niere unto VIII of the clock the King conveyeth himself, the lord Ruthven, George Duglass, and two others, throwe his own chamber by the privy stayers up to the queen's chamber . . . at which theyr were sitting at supper the queene, the lady Argile, and David (Rizzio) with his capp upon his head." ^{6 7}

It was soon over. Rizzio tried to hide behind the Queen but was dragged out and killed with some fifty stab wounds. Lady Argyll seized the candles and held them high, thus, according to some historians, thwarting a plot to put out the lights and kill the Queen. The nobles friendly to the Queen who were in the palace—Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol—were alarmed, and, says Randolph:

"When theie heard that my lord Murray would be there next day, and Argile to meet him, Huntley and Bothwell both get out of a window and so depart." ⁸

For a time it looked as if civil war would follow, but matters were patched up. The Protestant burgesses defended the Queen. She escaped to Dunbar and came under Bothwell's protection. She and Darnley were reconciled; he purported to confess and implicated certain nobles involved, although he did not mention either Moray or Argyll. Later the nobles gave her evidence to prove the faithlessness of her husband and his plot to put himself on her throne. All were pardoned. In June her baby was born and at Christmas time he was baptised in the Chapel Royal at Stirling in a ceremony so lavish

⁶ Only intimates appeared before royalty with the head covered.

⁷ Robertson op. cit.

⁸ Robertson op. cit.

that the Treasury was badly embarrassed.⁹ Neither Darnley nor the Earl of Argyll were present, but Lady Jean Campbell, wife of the Earl, stood sponsor for the child as proxy for Queen Elizabeth, whose plot had failed, and who now seemed reconciled to receiving the boy into the royal family as one of the heirs to both thrones. Other contemporary reports, however, say that when informed of his birth she was so chagrined that she burst into tears.

Lady Argyll was severely criticised for taking part in a Catholic ceremony.

‘For this scandal, as it was called, she was cited before the General Assembly, and submitting to discipline, was enjoined to make such publick pennance in the Chapel of Stirling, as the superintendant of Lothian should appoint, and which, without doubt, she under went.’¹⁰

Then again events began to move rapidly. The discredited nobles who had been exposed by Darnley’s confession were after his blood and soon had it. Darnley was strangled and blown up in one night, and the Queen was again a widow. Argyll was one of the nobles aware of the plot and some writers say Queen Mary spent the evening with the Earl and Lady Argyll the night Darnley met his fate. The truth regarding these events is difficult to determine, but undoubtedly all the relatives knew what was afoot and had a hand in it. Bothwell,¹¹ who had become the Queen’s adviser and, some think, her lover, was tried for Darnley’s murder, with Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll, as president of the court.

⁹ Levies were made of £6000 on the clergy; £4000 on the nobles and £2000 on the burghs to meet the deficit.

¹⁰ Crawford, *Officers of State* quoting Melville and Buchanan. See *Scots Peerage*.

¹¹ Omission of mention of the Casket Letters is intentional. The only facts regarding them that can claim any historical accuracy is that there were said to be such letters and that supposed copies of them were used to the Queen’s disadvantage.

Bothwell was promptly acquitted, for none dared accuse him in view of his high place in the Queen's esteem. His friend, Argyll, who helped get an acquittal, subsequently signed a request that Bothwell take steps to become the Queen's husband, which Bothwell did. He married her after a rather smelly divorce from his wife, put through in twelve days, and immediately took over the government in the Queen's name, but transacted business under his own signature.

Great was the public outcry. Again came a clash of arms. The young King was taken from his mother by force and she never saw him again. John Knox, the firebrand of the Protestants, who for years had denounced her steadily from the pulpit, redoubled his efforts and accused her of various crimes, including adultery, murder, and conspiring to give Scotland over to the Pope. Bothwell, discredited, was allowed to escape. He went to the Orkney Islands, and is said to have been guilty of robbery, piracy, and other high crimes, but there is not much direct evidence to go on. He died in prison—some say insane.

Mary was imprisoned in a castle on an island at Lochleven in charge of Margarate, wife of George Douglas and mother of Mary's half brother, James Stewart, Earl of Moray.¹² The old lady was a wearisome jailer and persisted in relating to Mary tales of her days with James V, to whom she claimed to have been lawfully married, although history does not bear her out. Mary expressed herself as highly dissatisfied with her company, but she had to stand it for eleven months.

Again wavering, Argyll entered into a bond for the defense of the rights of the baby, James VI, and carried the sword of

¹² Margarate Douglas was the daughter of John Erskine and except for the rules of the Catholic Church would have been Queen of Scotland. In 1536 James V addressed the Pope suggesting that Margarate divorce Douglas and marry him in order to legitimize their son, James Stewart, born to the King before she married Douglas, and make him heir to the throne. It would have been a good move for Scotland, no doubt, but the Pope refused permission.

state at his coronation in 1567. From then on Scotland was ruled in the name of James. When the Earl of Moray, as Regent, called a Parliament that year Archibald attended, but the Campbells sympathized with Queen Mary and in May 1568 entered into a bond to attempt her release on reasonable terms.

There is more to this situation than meets the eye at first glance. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, English Ambassador to Scotland, reported to his government in a letter written July 14, 1567 that "Argyll would marry the Queen to his brother." Archibald apparently had decided that the much-married young Queen might as well move a Campbell into the king row. It is just as well that the scheme fell through, for the Catholics would never have accepted a Protestant Campbell, while the Protestants would have disowned the whole Campbell clan for tying up with a Catholic. Queen Mary would have been a liability to the Campbells. They were already in a sufficiently close relationship with her for the good of all, but in spite of the possible upheaval such a move might bring, in the spring of 1568, Archibald was definitely plotting to put Mary back on the throne.¹³

Then, like a bombshell, came the news that she had escaped. Again the indomitable, never-say-die spirit characteristic of most of the Stewarts, and of Mary to an extreme degree, had come to the top. She persuaded an impressionable youth, Willie Douglas, that she was in love with him and for the sake of the fair lady he unlocked her prison and set her free while the rest of the guard was eating. The next that Moray, Argyll, and the rest knew, the Queen was in their midst.

¹³ Throckmorton also reported to his government that the Hamiltons, "seem to desire her liberty and Bothwells destruction, because they would compass a marriage betwixt the Queen and the Lord of Arbroth." Robertson, *op. cit.*

Bearing in mind that the Hamiltons and Campbells were the principal supporters of Queen Mary it would seem that Willie Douglas may not have been the only one led astray by women's wiles.

Claude, younger brother of the Marquess of Hamilton, met her upon her escape and escorted her to Cadzow Castle,¹⁴ where she held court while she rested at a spot in the town still called Queenzie Neuk. She rallied her forces about her at Hamilton, about ten miles up the Cylde from Glasgow. Had she waited till the time was ripe she might have won freedom without violence, for the common people were sympathetic, but having once broken out it was necessary to move quickly. Her half brother, the Regent, was holding court in Glasgow, where he soon had a force of about 4000 armed men assembled. He was ambitious and able and unwilling to give over the rule of Scotland without a struggle. All the leaders, who would have preferred to watch developments before acting, were forced into an immediate declaration for or against her. Moray had the support of such strong earls as Montrose, Mar, Monteith and Glencairn and Lords Semple, Home, Lindsay and Kirkaldy, the latter a soldier of rare ability whose horsemen had much to do with the outcome.

For eleven days Mary rallied her supporters around her in a sort of "return from Elba," then moved down the river toward Dumbarton, where it was decided to await the gathering of the forces. Again she moved prematurely. Her Catholic troops from the north had not yet arrived. Her army consisted mainly of Hamiltons and Campbells, each playing for the position of King-Consort. The Earl of Argyll joined her and was made lieutenant-general in command of her troops on the very day (May 15, 1568) the forces closed at the battle of Langside.¹⁵

Archibald Campbell must have been in a sad quandary.

¹⁴ Cadzow Castle, now in ruins, stood in the gorge of Avon Water near where that stream flows into the Clyde at Hamilton. It was a royal residence in the time of the Kings Alexander and passed to the Hamiltons in the time of King Robert Bruce.

¹⁵ The city of Glasgow has grown over this battlefield.



Valentine

DUNSTAFFNAGE — STRONGHOLD OF CAMPBELLS AND KINGS

Dunstaffnage and Kilchurn, two of the most historic and picturesque of Campbell castles, stand not far apart in West Argyllshire. Keeper of Dunstaffnage is still a proud Campbell title and Dunstaffnage Castle, with walls 30 to 70 feet high and 9 feet thick stands near the sea on a strong point developed by Scottish chieftains from the days of Julius Caesar.

Here the MacDougals held out against Robert Bruce who overcame them in 1308 and passed their title of Lord Lorne to the Stewarts and their castle to the Campbells. The Campbells never have given it up.

KILCHURN — CRADLE OF THE BREADALBANE CAMPBELLS

Kilchurn stands near the head of Loch Awe where the rivers Orchy and Strae come down from the hills. Kilchurn was once a stronghold of the Patersons, who lost it to the MacGregors and the latter, in turn, gave way to the Campbells. About the time the Argyll Campbells were building Castle Campbell near Dollar, the Breadalbane Campbells were building Kilchurn and spreading up the valley of the Orchy.

The Campbells lived in Kilchurn till 1740. This Campbell landmark today is in sad disrepair. Only Ben Cruachen, "the proud Mountain of Glenorchy", which looks down upon it is the same as in the days when the Breadalbane Campbells ruled from sea to sea.



Here he was, a Protestant, commanding in what was mainly a Catholic cause, for a Catholic leader, against Moray, the very man with whom he had plotted so many times for the good of the Protestants, even in Castle Campbell itself. Most of the Earl's friends were with Moray, and surely Archibald must have known that he was backing a forlorn hope, with little chance of winning and worse trouble if he won. No one ever played a longer shot than he when he lined up on the Catholic side after his years as a Protestant. It is fair to assume a certain amount of personal loyalty to his sister-in-law, but the big bait seems to have been the possibility of putting his brother on the throne beside her if she won. It was a silly gamble for a man who knew Scottish politics and religion as well as he did. He was flirting with dire ruin and depending on a woman who had learned to use sex appeal to the utmost to further her political plans. It is not likely that he had any real assurance from her as to marriage with his brother—at least there is no record of it.

Just as the battle was joined he fell in a fit. When he recovered the short struggle was over and the Queen, who had watched the battle from a distance of about a mile had fled southward toward England,¹⁶ where she hoped for refuge and support in winning back her crown. The last chance for Catholicism to re-establish itself officially in Scotland was gone. Among the dead lay Sir John Campbell, also known as

¹⁶ Mary was terrified at the outcome of the battle and rode hurriedly south into Kirkcudbrightshire. There is dispute as to where she spent the night after Langside. Some claim it was at the old Abbey of Dundrennan, near Dumfries, while others say that Mary fled to Lord Herries' home in Terregles Parish near Port Mary, where the Queen had a strong adherent in Lady Herries. In either case it was a ride of more than sixty miles over rough country by night. The account of the matter found in Lord Herries' *Memoirs* states that Mary was accompanied from the field by Lords Herries, Fleming, and Livingstone and also by George Douglas and William Fundlin. After a few days she embarked at Dundrennan and entered England at Cockermouth in Cumberland. She was then in her 25th year and was to be imprisoned for 19 years before she was beheaded.

Gorm, but the total killed was small, running not over three hundred, and the Campbells barely got into the fight.

This was the last time Archibald Campbell saw his beautiful sister-in-law, and he was no doubt well satisfied that such was the case. Seldom has a man been so torn by his loyalties. After the battle he returned to his own country and strengthened his borders. He still had a lot of explaining to do to his brother-in-law, James Stewart, Earl of Moray, Regent, and supreme in Scotland, who was entertained royally by the magistrates and town council of Glasgow after his victory and hailed by all as the ruler of Scotland.

Moray took the utmost care to eliminate bloodshed over the Queen's return and at the close of the battle rode among his troops ordering them not to kill their fellow countrymen who were escaping. In spite of the part Hamilton had taken as leader of the revolt, Moray pardoned him and allowed him to go free. Part of the Hamilton estate was taken, however, and given to supporters of Moray as a reward for their work on the battlefield. The rough manner in which the wife of Hamilton was turned out of her home in the nighttime by the new owners, not even being given time to dress, led him to forget any gratitude he might have had for remission of the death sentence; and there was in addition an outright political plot involved. He set an ambush at Linlithgow and killed Moray.¹⁷ In the meantime Archibald Campbell had made his

¹⁷ Hamilton placed a feather mattress on the floor of a house owned by his uncle, the Archbishop of Hamilton in front of which Moray would pass and hung dark cloth behind him so that his movements would be unobserved. When the Earl came riding by, the press of the crowd was so great that he moved very slowly and Hamilton took careful aim and shot him through the lower belly with a hackbut. The slug also killed the horse of the man riding next to Moray. Hamilton ran through the house, mounted a horse he had waiting in back and escaped to voluntary exile in France. Three years later, when Dumbarton Castle was taken by a daring night attack under Captain Thomas Crawford, the Archbishop was captured. And shortly afterward he was hanged, drawn and quartered at Edinburgh in the common place of execution. His home as the old chronicles have it, "incontinent thairefter was all utterlie burnt with fyre."

peace with the Regent, but upon learning of the assassination of Moray, assembled with a number of nobles at Linlithgow to consider the possibility of restoring Queen Mary.

But Mary had ridden into a trap and its jaws had sprung. There was no way she could get out of her English prison. Elizabeth of England could be considered legitimate only so long as Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine could be maintained as legal, and the Catholics denied its validity. The fact that Mary had enjoyed the pretty conceit of signing herself Queen of England while on the throne of France was to help seal her death warrant. She was Queen of France by marriage and Queen of Scotland by inheritance—those two things were clear; but no one could expect to oust Queen Elizabeth from the English throne without a war, and to claim the Queenship was an affront to her. Elizabeth wanted no such bad neighbor on the throne of Scotland, nor did she want the Scots to go back to Catholicism, which Mary would have favored. Elizabeth was plainly tired of the Catholic epithet "bastard." And so in due time, after many political intrigues, Mary was sent to the block on February 7, 1587. When this happened her brother-in-law Archibald Campbell had long been dead.

The trouble which Mary had brought down upon Archibald Campbell was of short duration once she was out of the country and James Moray was dead. By 1571 the new Regent, the Earl of Lennox, had persuaded him to submit to the King's authority, and in September of that year Argyll was back in Parliament¹⁸ representing his district and thinking no further of his troublesome sister-in-law. He died fourteen years before she did and a lot closer to the throne of Scotland. In fact, for a time it looked as if he might become ruler of the

¹⁸ It was to this meeting that the boy-King James VI was brought as a matter of ceremony. He was five years old. Looking up at the canopy over his head he said, "there is ane hole in this Parliament."

country. In September 1571, Lennox was killed, and Archibald moved to obtain his place. The choice fell however upon Mar, and Argyll was made privy councilor. When Morton became Regent the following year, Archibald became Lord High Chancellor, which was soon confirmed to him for life. It was partly through his work that the two rival factions in Scotland were reconciled and agreed to work in harmony for the general good of the country. Embodied in this amnesty was a gentleman's understanding that no more would be said by any one at any time, concerning the various murders committed in the reign of Queen Mary, particularly the murder of Darnley; this being one that Argyll and various others wished to forget as completely and rapidly as possible.

On September 12, 1573 Archibald Campbell died "of the stone" at the age of 43, having been part of more history and having lived through more important state affairs than most men would see in a hundred years.

CHAPTER IX

The Campbells Take a Horning and Heads Roll in the Dust

A DOUGLAS WAS REGENT of Scotland when Colin came to the leadership of the Campbells as sixth Earl of Argyll in 1573. For the Campbell's the fact that the ruler was a Douglas was of itself bad enough. For generations the two clans had been consistently on opposite sides, and especially antagonistic when the Douglas leaders would lose their tempers, quarrel with the Scottish government, dash off to England to connive with the enemy, and now and then march back with the English armed forces to help slaughter their fellow countrymen. The Campbells had always refused to attack Scotland and disliked anyone who did. The tale of their differences with the Douglasses, was long preserved in song and story, but no bard was needed to remind Colin of his enmity to the Regent.

In the case of Colin the wrongs were personal as well as political and none of the Campbells were in a mood to bow down to James Douglas, Earl of Morton, be he Regent or no. The two moved against each other at once, renewing the quarrel started years before by Colin's brother Archibald, when the latter was the 5th Earl.

In the plot to murder Rizzio, the Campbells and the Douglasses had been on the same side as this very James Douglas, leader of the conspirators. During the investigation which was later made of Darnley's murder, James had felt ruin descending and fled to England; but he returned when pardoned. He joined with Moray in making war on Queen

Mary and commanded the Regent's army which defeated her and her general, Archibald Campbell, at Langside. In the years of the Campbells' disfavor with the government resulting from Archibald's allegiance to Mary, they had seen the Douglas influence rise and James Douglas take the place that Argyll had formerly held as chief adviser to Moray.

True it is that the Campbells had joined forces with Queen Mary of their own free will and had backed the wrong candidate, but such reflections seldom sweeten the gall and wormwood that a loser must chew, and especially bitter is the cud when the factions have been at loggerheads for generations. Any possibility of healing the breach between Colin Campbell and James Douglas was immediately wrecked when the latter put the new Campbell Earl and his Countess "to the horn"¹ over the matter of the crown jewels.

Before Colin succeeded to the title as sixth Earl of Argyll his first wife had died. With the hope of marrying Queen Mary definitely gone, he had married the widow of Moray, the murdered Regent. (She was the older sister of the wife of John Campbell of Cawdor.) Moray had held custody of the crown jewels at the time of his death and his widow never returned them to the government. She claimed the right to them and fought the new Regent all the way, appealing to Parliament and to Queen Elizabeth, who never failed to get an invitation from someone to take sides when a fight broke out in Scotland during her reign. Morton won, and apparently rightly so, for no doubt the jewels belonged to Scotland; but right or wrong, in winning this argument he put the final touch to his career. Colin Campbell never gave up till the head of the Regent rolled in the dust and the insult to Lady Argyll was washed out by Douglas blood. It took time

¹ This is an expression common in ancient Scottish history and law which meant to proclaim by announcement accompanied by the blowing of a horn. "Putting to the horn" in some cases meant to outlaw, but the Campbells were too strong to be subject to any such drastic treatment.

to accomplish this solution of their differences and the quarrel was carried on for years, but in the end the Maiden ² sliced off the Douglas head.

The first serious move in the feud between the two came a year or two after the "horning," when Argyll and the Earl of Athol had a quarrel over the matter of jurisdiction in their respective territories. The Regent enforced the peace, which was his duty, but he went much further and accused both the contenders of treason because of certain laws he claimed they had broken. Argyll and Athol, faced with a charge so serious as to lead to their execution if they were found guilty, immediately buried their personal differences and joined forces. They marched against the Regent and called upon the twelve-year-old King to assume the throne. They were sufficiently strong to force the resignation of Morton, which he delivered at the Market Cross in Edinburgh, and the government proceeded to function in the name of James VI.

The Kingdom was immediately beset by dissension with the powerful families of Scotland choosing sides. To preserve the peace Douglas was returned to the office of Regent, but he was likewise unable to restore order, and military activities of major proportions threatened. At one time Argyll and Athol assembled thousands of their retainers.³ Queen

² The Scottish Maiden was a device for taking off heads. (Some say Morton invented it.) It was a sort of guillotine with a heavy knife that cut off the head of the victim as he knelt. Morton was not the only notable to so suffer. More than one of the Campbells also received the Maiden's kiss of death. About 120 heads rolled from the Maiden's knife, but it was not used after 1710. It is now preserved by the Society of Antiquities in the Museum in Edinburgh.

³ The bitterness with which these civil feuds were carried on kept the gallows busy. Witness this description of events:

"On April 15 four of Kirkaldy's Horse were taken and hanged. Thereupon Kirkaldy hanged four prisoners of the Regent's men and a gentleman called Dowglas. On the night of the 25th, Morton in person lying in wait for Lord Claud Hamilton, missed his prey but fell upon a detachment of two and twenty of Kirkaldy's foragers, whereof he slew fifteen or sixteen and took five prisoners . . . four were hanged at once but the fifth was

Elizabeth marched an army to the Border to lend strength to the hand of her friend the Regent, whom she favored because of his support of the Episcopal branch of the Protestant church; and also for other reasons, among them being his refusal to consider the pleas of Mary, Queen of Scots, to be returned to her homeland.

The English bluff failed and both sides backed down. A compromise was negotiated and peace reigned between the factions. A dinner was given to celebrate the occasion and Athol died immediately after. His friends set up the cry that he had been poisoned by the Regent's friends, but it was never proved. In the final adjustment the responsibility for the government was divided among the contending factions and Colin Campbell, sixth Earl of Argyll, was given the office of Chancellor of Scotland as his portion of the political spoils (Aug. 10, 1579).

He and the Regent were supposed to be reconciled but when, during the next year, the latter was openly accused of the murder of Darnley, it was a foregone conclusion that the Campbells would be on the accusing side. The trial of the Regent was manifestly a "railroading" job and his conviction assured from the start. Colin Campbell as Chancellor was ex-officio the presiding officer at the trial and when the Douglas was found guilty of treason it was the duty of the Chancellor to deliver the sentence, which was that the victim was to be hanged, drawn and quartered. The King remitted the sentence to beheading and the next day the Campbells had the satisfaction of seeing the head of their enemy displayed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh (June 1581). The

sent to Holyrood and 'flowered Captane Mitchallis gallous.' Kirkaldy immediately replied by stringing up two prisoners 'upon Montrais trees foranent the chappell' and two more on the 28th 'thai of Leith might sie' and so Bannantyne ruefully ejaculates 'thair is nothing but hanging on eather side.' *History of the House of Douglas.*

remainder of the body was carried to that section of Greyfriars Cemetery reserved for the burial of criminals, with not one friend daring to accompany it nor able to express by word or deed the slightest feeling of sorrow. The Campbells were avenged, their enemy was dead—and Colin Campbell was politically stronger than ever.

All of this may sound as if the Campbells had deliberately pulled a good man down, but there is another side to the story. There was evil as well as good in Morton and his rule had its bad points. He diverted the taxes supposed to go to the support of the clergy and spent the money for his own purposes. He oppressed the people by levies beyond anything they had seen for generations, and worst of all, he debased the value of their money by mixing a fourth part of alloy with every pound of silver coined. Thus from a given quality of bullion he had for himself a 25% gain in the number of pieces to spend. The result was so disastrous to the finances of Scotland that in 1581, after his death, it was necessary to call in and melt up the money made during the years he was in power.⁴ He had likewise aroused suspicion by appointing bishops and other church officers in accordance with his leanings to episcopacy; and the Campbells and their friends, who were at the opposite extreme of the Protestant church, saw danger of a return to the form and pomp of the old days when the Pope was supreme in Scotland's church.

Morton's private life was a scandal, particularly his taking as mistress the pretty wife of a Captain Allen whom he sent to the gallows. He had also been guilty of surrendering the Earl of Northumberland, a political refugee from England who had a right to expect immunity under the conventions of the time. The fugitive was wanted badly by Queen Elizabeth. She paid the Regent 10,000 pounds and immediately

⁴ Robertson, *op. cit.* Vol. II.

executed Northumberland on the charge of inciting a Catholic uprising against her.⁵

Morton admitted at his trial that he had foreknowledge of the plot to murder Darnley, but he denied any part in the crime. He maintained that he could not spread the alarm because the leaders of the government, including the Queen, were parties to the plot—a statement which may have been true. Some of the Campbells had their part in that crime along with him, and it is likely that if the matter of the crown jewels had not come up the Darnley murder might have been forgotten. Well might Colin Campbell have said at the end of the death sentence, “and let that be a warning to those, who in their might go about Scotland giving a horning to any of the Campbells.”

With the passing of the Earl of Morton, King James VI became the ruler. He was still only a youth in his teens, not at all seasoned in the work of governing a nation, and not yet a good judge of men. A puppet in the hands of certain Scottish leaders whom he happened to fancy, his decisions were bad and the Protestants of Scotland decided that something must be done for the good of the country. They proceeded to kidnap the King. He was invited to visit Ruthven Castle and unsuspectingly stopped there with a small train, expecting to spend the night. When he entered the castle he was astonished to find it full of armed men. When he prepared to leave the next morning he was sternly informed that he must remain. The King argued, complained of the treat-

⁵ Only those who have read history carefully can understand the real fear engendered by the religious warring of the times. In 1572 the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was instigated by the Queen of France, Catherine de Medici, who saw over 50,000 of her Protestant subjects slaughtered in the short space of two weeks to deter Protestant leaders from ascendancy in the government. Instead of trying to restrain such bloody acts, Pope Gregory XIII ordered bonfires to be lighted and a commemorative medal struck. From cottage to throne all stood in fear of their neighbors of opposite faith and in many instances the fear was well founded.

ment and began to threaten his captors. When this proved of no avail, he burst into tears. The Earl of Glamis, one of the foremost in the conspiracy, said fiercely, "No matter, it is better that bairns weep than bearded men." This was the Raid of Ruthven remembered by James VI all his days.

The King of France, Henry III, tried to obtain the King's release, but Queen Elizabeth opposed it. Both sent envoys but James was held over the winter, a virtual prisoner in the hands of certain of his subjects. By the following summer, however, the inevitable break in the ranks of his captors had come. James had pretended to be satisfied with the arrangement and had so far won the trust of those around him that he was given permission to visit his great-uncle, the Earl of March, at St. Andrews. No sooner had he arrived there than the castle gates were slammed shut and a state of siege declared. The next morning a strong force rode into the town to support the King and enforce his freedom; among his supporters were the Earls of Huntley, Crawford, Montrose and Rothes, with Colin Campbell, sixth Earl of Argyll, riding with them.

The Campbells had thought it over and had decided that ten months imprisonment was enough, perhaps, to teach the young man a lesson. It was obvious that sooner or later he must be freed, and it had probably occurred to them that holding him prisoner could later be interpreted as treason, for which a number of good men might be publicly disembowled. Colin could see the desirability of having some pluses on his record when this time came, and took the action that good political sense would indicate. Some authorities say he was privy to the plot to seize the King in the Ruthven Raid; others who say he was not. Certainly he took no active part, and sat on the jury that tried for treason John Ruthven,⁶

⁶ His grandfather was the Lord Ruthven who stabbed Rizzio in Queen Mary's apartment. In 1600 his two sons, John, second Earl of Gowrie,

third Earl of Gowrie, owner of Ruthven Castle. Ruthven was quickly found guilty and beheaded on Heading Hill at Stirling Castle the night the trial ended (1584); and so perished another of Queen Elizabeth's stooges, for she had encouraged and paid for the uprising.

But Colin was soon to be beyond the intrigues of friends or enemies. When Parliament met in 1584 he was not able to sit as presiding officer and his place was taken by another. On September 10th of that year he died at Darnaway, leaving three children—a daughter, a younger son Colin, who married the widow of John Graham, sixth Earl of Menteith, and whose son in turn became a baronet; and an eldest son, Archibald, about eight years old, who became the seventh Earl of Argyll.

James VI shook off his captor advisors and assumed the authority of his office in 1584. He was just seventeen years old. Like many of his ancestors who faced, too young, the problems of ruling the country, he suffered many a setback but he won through to become King of both Scotland and England and thus laid a strong timber in the foundation of the developing British Empire. James was the first Protestant in the Stuart line, probably conscientiously so, but doubtless carefully influenced in that direction by a wise government. No matter how brilliant an heir might be in personality and statesmanship, it was plain to the political leaders of Scotland that none but a Protestant could peacefully succeed Queen Elizabeth on the English throne.

As a Protestant James had most of continental Europe

and Alexander Ruthven were killed in their own castle in the presence of the King. No one knows for sure why but *Scots Peerage* Vol. IV says court gossip reported that Alexander had become the lover of Queen Anne and the ruin of the family was the King's revenge. Their dead bodies were taken before Parliament in Edinburgh; they were declared guilty of treason and drawn and quartered in death. Their estates and honors were forfeited and by act of Parliament the surname Ruthven was abolished.

against him. The slaughter of the Huguenots in France had put the Catholics supremely in power and the Holy League of the Duke of Guise was bringing to bear against Protestant England the combined power of Spain and France, with the backing of the Pope. Both James and Elizabeth needed the support each could give the other, and they bound themselves by treaty to march with their armies should invasion come upon either.

And so after more than three hundred years of futile slaughter, burning, looting, and rape, the Border was closed to the armies of both sides and never again has been opened to this day.

In this year the Campbells also got a new leader and this time they did rather poorly for themselves. The record reads like the account of some of the Stewart reigns when the King came too soon to his inheritance. Much of the difficulty lay in the fact that the new Earl was only eight years old when he came to his place in 1584. His father had arranged that during the boy's minority the affairs of the family should be administered by his mother, under the protection of the King and with the advice and assistance of six Campbells. Committees are always poor administrators and especially so when their intentions are not of the best.

In the chapter on the Cawdor Campbells we covered the affair in considerable detail so far as it affected John Campbell of Nairn, including his death by a blast from a hackbut and the consequent severity visited upon certain suspects in order to obtain a confession. The remaining details of the conspiracy are soon covered. One of the close relatives, Archibald Campbell of Lochnell, had conceived the idea of becoming Earl of Argyll by wiping out the heirs ahead of him; and he informed a conspiracy to get it done. In addition to the killing of Campbell of Cawdor the conspirators killed the Earl of Moray, a close relative whose mother was

Margarate Campbell, sister of the sixth Earl of Argyll. The Gordons were involved in this and the Earl of Huntley, their leader, was guilty of Moray's blood with the approbation of the King.⁷ Archibald escaped death although his serious illness at that time is credited to poison administered by his renegade relatives, who should have been hanged but weren't. In fact, for a time it seemed that they would go unpunished, but Campbell of Lochnell met his fate when Archibald marched against the Earls of Huntley and Errol on the King's orders. The King had a job of killing he wanted done and so encouraged the civil war. Lochnell plotted to reveal the position of the Campbell forces and suggested an attack by the enemy early in the morning while the Highlanders were at prayers. Huntley fired on Argyll's banner but the Earl escaped harm, while a stray missile guided by fate, chance, or the hand of the Lord, struck down Campbell of Lochnell dead in his tracks. Argyll was avenged, but the damage was done so far as that battle was concerned, for the Campbell army melted away and the chagrined young Earl was led off the field by older and wiser heads. His first battle was lost and the whole campaign went so poorly that the King, before he departed for London, called a halt and gave Archibald a cooling-off period in prison in the castle at Edinburgh. In due time Huntley and he were reconciled, Argyll was released, and the war was over.

Another war that had a political background developed at this time and came to a head with the slaughter of the Clan MacGregor just at the turn of the century. The Campbells have often been given dishonorable mention for their part

⁷ This was another of the mysterious murders of James VI's reign. The Bonnie Earl of Moray was dashing, tall, well favored, and not over twenty-five years of age. The pretended cause was participation with Bothwell in a raid on Holyrood House. The real cause was the fondness for the young man shown by the Queen. This was not the only occasion when the Queen's smile brought death to the man she favored.

in this affair; the friends of the MacGregors have joined the MacDonalds and the MacDougals in denouncing the Campbells as black-hearted scoundrels with no Christian kindness in their make-up.

The MacGregor trouble goes a long way back and the same is true of trouble with other clan neighbors of the Campbells. The land held by the clans of western Scotland was theirs by settlement and occupation long before royal charts were given to anyone. When the Scottish Kings began to grant charters and to demand submission as a condition for receiving them, many of the Highlanders refused to submit. As MacCleary says in his *Memoirs of Rob Roy*, published in 1818:

“It was held unworthy of a Highlander to hold his lands by a sheepskin rather than by his sword, whereby his ancestors had acquired them.”

And so a strong basis for quarrels with the government was laid. The basis for quarrels with neighboring clans arose from another fundamental of human nature—the urge to reproduce. When the home lands of two adjoining clans became too thickly populated, starvation made itself felt and crowding progressed from inconvenience to desperation. Then came stealing, plundering, reprisals, and war.

The Campbells are a prolific family and were not slow in those days to take advantage of any excuse to expand their holdings for the benefit of the growing population. In 1432 the wise old leader Duncan, the first Lord Campbell, had set his son up in the territory of Glenorchy, along the banks of the Orchy River, and thus started the famous Breadalbane branch of the Campbells. His son, Sir Colin Campbell, was not long content with the portion his father had split off from the Barony of Lochow and so found ways to serve King James III, among them being the capture of Thomas Chalmer, one of the murderers of James I. Colin received grants of

land from the King, and it was he who built part of the famous Kilchurn castle.

The Breadalbane drive did not falter in the next generation. Colin's son, another Duncan,⁸ was a true scion of his father and grandfather and, says Donald Gregory in *Archæologia Scotica*:

"made vast additions to the property of his family in Perthshire. He acquired the King's land of Balloch (Taymouth) and others on Loch Tay in 1492. At about the same time he acquired the important office of bailiary of the Crown, lands of Disher⁹ and Tayer,⁹ Glenlyon and Glendochart of which he was principle tenant. Some years later he acquired from private individuals the barony of Fynlarig at the west end of Loch Tay; the lands of Shian and others and the lands of Crannysch all in the same district; so that before his death in the battle of Flodden in 1513 he had undoubtedly become one of the most influential barons of Perthshire; and if we take into account his possessions in Argyll there were few barons of greater power in Scotland."

The MacGregor clan, in the days when it was few in numbers, had lived more or less at peace with its neighbors, the McNabs, the Menzies, the Colquhouns and others. As it grew large, however, the powerful Campbell tribe moved in. Soon there was a shortage of room and the territory became overcrowded.

"On December 27, 1540, John Colquhoun of Luss was summoned to appear before the Lords of the Privy Council to hear their decree that he should restore eight oxen and twelve milk cows or the price of them with the profits of the same since the year 1527 to Patrick MacGregor of Laggaric."¹⁰ This was just the beginning.

The very nature of the situation forced the Highland families to take sides and for the most part they joined the stronger

⁸ Both he and his brother John were killed at Flodden Field.

⁹ Celtic names—Disher means southern exposure and Tayer, northern exposure.

¹⁰ For further details see *The Chiefs of Colquhoun*, Vol. I.

party. One by one, clans and septs declared allegiance to the Clan Campbell till nearly two dozens were allied with it, and life became harder for those who were opposed. At the same time the central government detailed to the Campbells the job of maintaining order in the West Highlands—in fact, demanded that they do it, and rested the fortunes of the family in part on their performing the task efficiently. The MacGregors and MacDonalds resisted to the bitter end, and it was necessary for the Campbells to overcome them or give the job over to someone who could. The place the Campbells had held for generations in the central government would have been lost if they had proved unable to master their home territory, and this was especially true in the days of King James VI who was never to be trusted too far by any of his subjects. His liking for the Campbells was based on their ability to police the western territory and collect rents. There were years of minor warfare.

Campbell enemies maintain that they deliberately and with malice aforethought brought about strife between local clans:

“Campbell of Glenurchy . . . for the purpose of forcing the Menzies to sell their lands, secretly by misrepresentations and other influences, stirred up the MacGregors and other unsophisticated and kindly tenants of the Menzies to violate laws of the land, thereby embroiling Sir Robert (Lord of Rannoch) into difficulties with the crown for the acts of his tenants. These lawless men were not all MacGregors but they were saddled with these crimes by their would-be friend Campbell.”¹¹

Warfare blazed and the Colquhouns were the victims of the MacGregors. Many were killed but the victory backfired, for the losers staged a demonstration that would have done justice to America's Hollywood. Sixty Colquhoun widows on sixty white ponies carried some two hundred bloody shirts of their menfolk as banners to King James and demanded jus-

¹¹ *Red and White Book of Menzie.*

tice. There is some reason to suspect that some of the shirts were doctored up for the occasion and Mongomerie, the "Ayrshire bard" of the day, wrote a poem in which he belittled the importance of the affair and cried for justice in larger matters:

"Their bloody sarks (shirts) cryis (cry) always in your
airis (ears);
Prevent the plague that presentlie appears"

But it was of no avail and the wrath of the government came down upon the MacGregors with Archibald Campbell, seventh Earl of Argyll, assigned the task of punishing the stubborn clan, with power of fire and sword. The MacGregors were proscribed utterly and completely under a commission from the King.

A price of 1000 pounds was put on the heads of six MacGregor chiefs and 100 merks offered for the head of any ordinary member of the clan. In fact so valuable was the head of a MacGregor at that time that in case of natural death, secret burial was necessary, lest the corpse be dug up and the head sold for bounty. Priests were forbidden to baptise children with the name and anyone supplying them or associating with them was punished in "body, goods and gear." They were ordered to change their names, and many took the names of Dougall, Stewart, Grant, McPatrik, MacRobert and Cunninghame, while the most famous MacGregor of them all, Rob Roy, who was active in later years, took his mother's name, Campbell. Women were branded on the face and children were taken from their parents, while the men were hunted through the woods with dogs. The only way a MacGregor could secure amnesty was to bring in the head of another MacGregor equal in standing to himself. It was decreed that "A MacGregor suld at no tyme thair after beare nor weare ony kynde of armoure bot ane pointless kniff to

cutt thair meate under payne of Deade, nor assemble in gryter numberis nor four persones under said payne of Deade."

Only the inaccessible wildness of the Highlands, plus the efforts of kind friends, saved the MacGregors from extermination. In the midst of the hunting, which included a siege of a group of MacGregors on an island in Loch Katrine, the leader asked for an armistice and offered to give hostages if he might be allowed to go to England where he planned to appeal personally to the King. Argyll accepted the offer and on January 20, 1604, Allester MacGregor came in, with a group of his leading men, with the result set forth in this quotation from a writing of the times:

"MacGregor was convoyit to Berwick by the Gaird conforme to the Earle's promese; for he promesit to put him out of Scottis grund. . . . Bot thai were not directit to pairt with, bot to fetch him bak agane. . . . He was hangit upone the gallows at the cruce (cross) and ij (eleven) of his friends and name. Himself being chief he was hanit his own hicht (height) above the rest of his friends."¹²

And so with their leaders hanged, their clan scattered and their families banned, the MacGregors passed into history. It was generations before a MacGregor could publicly sign his name with safety in Edinburgh.¹³

¹² Robert Birrel's *Diary* (Advocates Library). There are various other published accounts but all agree on the principal point, namely, that the MacGregor men gave themselves up with the understanding that their leader should be set out of Scotland safely on English ground. This was done of course but having fulfilled the letter of the agreement the Campbells brought the MacGregors to the gallows in violation of the spirit of it, for they never set the MacGregor free to go on his journey to see the King.

¹³ Fortunately for Great Britain there were MacGregors who escaped with their lives. The first Governor-General of British New Guinea was Sir William MacGregor, a crofter's son. He is still remembered in the South Pacific as a man of extraordinary parts and he saved that territory for the Empire. In 1942 the Japs swept down across the Pacific almost to Australia, taking everything in their stride, including New Guinea, where they met another man with Highland Scotch blood in his veins, Douglas MacArthur. It was then that the bad luck of Japan started.

By 1607 most of the lands of the MacGregors had been transferred to the Campbells of Argyll as a reward for "in-bringing the laird of the MacGregors." Perhaps the less said by the Campbells about this deal the better. It speaks for itself. War has been a function of mankind ever since the first prehistoric man heaved a missile at an intruding stranger; and women and children have never been relieved of its suffering and alarms for long, as the folk of continental Europe might well testify with fervor while the horror of the latest devastation still is stark reality. For the war-developed suffering of the MacGregors we can blame the human race and its pig-headed system of settling disputes, but treachery is treachery, and a soldier's word should be good even when given to an enemy.

From the MacGregor matter the Campbells proceeded to the case of the MacDonalds, and undertook to conquer the Island of Islay for John Campbell of Nairn. In addition, the Earl of Argyll did a bit of conquering for himself and received as a reward the lands of Kintyre, which he held for a time, but the Privy Council opposed the grant and it never was confirmed. Archibald was "land poor" and apparently not a good manager. In fact when he came to make his settlement for money spent in the MacDonald expedition, the Privy Council took the firm stand that he had exceeded his authority and kept his troops beyond the authorized date. He was compelled to pay from his own pocket expense money to the sum of 7000 pounds. During the winter of 1615-16 he wound up his affairs in Scotland and returned with his family to England while his creditors pounded at his door for money. In order to get away from his difficulties he asked the King in 1617 for permission to go abroad for his health, which was granted; but again the Privy Council of Scotland expressed its dissatisfaction with an arrangement

made by the King, for in their opinion the Earl's estates were left in poor hands.

There was a good reason for Archibald's departure for the Continent however, other than the one given the King. His second wife (married November 30, 1610) was a Catholic and in the years intervening had persuaded him to join that faith. Feeling the urge to strike a blow for his new religion, he joined the army of the Catholic King of Spain and was busily engaged in the service of that monarch when James VI discovered what was afoot. The King immediately ordered that Archibald be brought before him, but the order was disregarded and the Earl continued to serve where he could feel relatively safe even though a Catholic. In 1619, feeling the uncertainty of the situation he took the precaution of making over his estates to his eldest son, Archibald, Lord of Lorne, who had served with him in the battles in the West Highlands, and who immediately began to wield the vast power of the Campbells in Scotland.

Archibald, the seventh Earl, lived long after he gave up the cares of Campbell leadership. He was pardoned by the King in 1621, about three years after the proclamation designating him a traitor had been read at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. He then returned to England where he lived in retirement till 1638. By his two wives he was father of thirteen children several of whom achieved real places for themselves. His eldest daughter, at the age of thirteen, married George, second Marquis of Huntley, who was beheaded at the Market Cross March 22, 1659. The eldest son of Archibald's second family at one time held the title of Lord of Kintyre and various other titles, but evidently finding foreign service more interesting, sold his holdings to his half brother, Archibald, the eighth Earl, and entered the service of Louis XIII of France, in which country he died. Two of his chil-

dren—his twin sons Henry and Charles—were sponsored at their baptism by Queen Anna and Prince Charles.

Archibald, eighth Earl of Argyll and later Marquis, became in his day, the strongest man in Scotland. He led the Campbells for over forty troubled years but finally received the fatal kiss of The Maiden. His head for three full years decorated a spike on The Tolbooth in Edinburgh; he was the first of the Campbell leaders to be so “honored,” but not the last.

CHAPTER X

The MacDonalds Take Terrible Vengeance

THE EIGHTH EARL OF ARGYLL had behind him two powerful families. On one side were the Campbells with twenty thousand men who held the Earl to be their Chief.¹ Over these he ruled with almost royal despotism. On his mother's side he had behind him the power of the Douglas family, for his mother was daughter of William Douglas of Lochleven, Earl of Morton. The urge to rule and the ability to do so, inherited from both sides, were as strong in him as in any man in Scotland and he lived up to his inheritance, even though, like many another, he failed to get along very well with his in-laws.

In appearance Archibald was slender and well-favored, with reddish-brown hair (he was called the Red Campbell) and a cast in one eye—glæ-eyed the Scots call it. He had just turned twenty-one when he came into leadership, at the time when his father was being denounced as a traitor at the Market Cross for serving in the army of the Catholic King of Spain, instead of being on the vacation abroad for which he had received royal permission. By order of the King, the estate was at once officially placed in the hands of Archibald. Three years later, when the sentence was remitted, his father tried to secure the return of certain of his rights, but the King refused permission, with resulting harsh words from father to son. The father's displeasure was not important, for Archibald, in accordance with the custom of the times, had been

¹*Dictionary of National Biography.*

declared his father's heir at the age of three, and title to the estates had passed to him at that time, although the father retained a life interest in them. Archibald, therefore, went his way secure in his position, while his father sat in retirement for over twenty years in London with his Catholic second wife and their eight children.² He would not have been welcome in Presbyterian Argyllshire, as all concerned well knew.

In his early days Archibald Campbell was a student for about three years at St. Leonard's College of the University of St. Andrews, which he entered January 15, 1622. He excelled in archery, being awarded a medal in 1623 as best in the school, and also played golf, which he later recommended in his volume "Instructions to a Son." He left school before graduation to take part in an expedition sent by Charles I to subdue the rebellious clan MacIan, and was soon deep in the political and religious struggles of Scotland.

Religion had reached that stage in Scotland and England where the form observed in acknowledging service to the Lord was more important in the eyes of most people than the service itself. It is hard to believe, for instance, that a man might be marked for murder because he took the sacrament in church kneeling instead of standing, but so it was; for the kneeling communicant would have thereby indicated his adherence to Catholicism and these were times when religion was one of the most likely causes for murder in Scotland. It took a century and more of civil strife before a better way of deciding church isms was found and in the meantime many a man suffered violent and untimely death. The eighth Earl of Argyll, who was one of the leaders in the struggles of the day, was no wiser than anyone else in putting forward the observance of form as the proper exemplification of the

² The eldest son of the second marriage of the seventh Earl of Argyll was made Earl of Irvine and became a captain of the Scots Guards in the Army of Louis XIII.



Valentine

THE ROCK OF BLOOD, DUNAVERTY, SOUTHEND, KINTYRE

One of the southern strongholds of the MacDonalds with whom the Campbells came into violent contact was Dunaverty Rock which is a small duplicate of the Rock of Gibraltar and stands at the very tip of Kintyre looking out toward Ireland. It has a sheer cliff 95 feet high that overhangs the sea. On it once stood a stout castle. Here Sir John (MacDonald) of the Isles hanged the royal governor from the wall in plain sight of the King and the men of the fleet. The Campbells took the castle in the early 1600's and in 1647 General David Leslie who captured the place ordered 300 MacDonalds tossed from the cliff into the sea to survive as best they might their contact with the rocks and waves.

ROCK AND CASTLE, DUMBARTON

It is probably the best-known landmark in western Scotland and also a landmark in Campbell history. The stone structure was a Campbell residence when a Campbell was governor of the Rock. Near here at Greenoch is buried Mary Campbell, the highland lassie to whom Robert Burns addressed many of his poems.



Christian spirit. About the best we can say for the Campbells is that their intention was to survive as best they could; in a throat-cutting period they felt compelled to develop themselves in the art of cutting throats.

James VI was just finishing his long and not too distinguished reign when Archibald became the eighth Earl, but James had not proceeded far in solving the religious problems of the realm. He contributed a bit toward stabilization by providing for an authentic translation of the Bible from original sources by a group of scholars whose work is still widely accepted as the authorized version, but these wisest of men in church affairs certainly were far from being masters of certain Christian fundamentals. The translators of the King James Bible dedicated the work to:

“the most High and Mighty Prince James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, *France* and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.”

They may have translated with precision, so far as the words are concerned but they translated imperfectly the spirit of the Book in their dedicatory paragraph, where they missed entirely the application of the tenth commandment; an example of the sad state that political and religious thinking were in at that stage in history.³ For James was not King of France, never was to be King of France and no one could have made him King of France without wholesale slaughter.

And so when Charles I, the son of James VI, came to the throne on March 27, 1625,⁴ he was only following precept

³ The year 1800 was to come and go before the Kings and Queens of England gave up this petty conceit. Even when the countries were allied in warfare this insult was maintained by England and the title and arms of France were carried by the English rulers.

⁴ Upon being crowned, Charles I signed in 1625 a new commission “granting and perpetually confirming to Lord Lorne . . . and his successors, Earls of Argyll, the said office of justiciary of Scotland, with all liberties, immunities, etc. thereof and all rights that his majesties, his predecessors or

and example when he proceeded to give Scotland and England a government which, as time went on, became more and more inflexible in the matter of church regulation, with small consideration given to the real Christian spirit. The Scots responded with stiff-necked opposition as they watched religious freedom diminish year by year during the first ten years of Charles's reign.

The young eighth Earl of Argyll and newly confirmed Justiciar General of Scotland had a very complicated set of problems on his hands. There were those who believed that the religious question was solved when Scotland ousted the Catholics in the days of Mary Stuart, and made the Protestant religion the official form for the kingdom. However that was just the beginning instead of the end of the struggle. Soon the Protestants were split into various camps and the problems grew more complicated instead of less so.

To put it roughly, and not too accurately, the difference between the two main church groups was about the same as the difference between a democracy and a monarchy. The Presbyterian Church believed in having the church ruled from below by elected representatives. The minister and the elders ruled the individual church, and representatives were sent *up* to form the higher ruling bodies. In the Episcopal Church government the rule was just the opposite—coming from the bishops *down* and partaking in many ways of the make-up of the Catholic Church but of course without a supreme head such as the Pope (to which position however the King aspired). The majority of the Scottish people, having moved away from the Catholic Church, wanted to go far in their change of religious forms and church management.

successors had or could pretend thereto . . . forever for the service of administration of justice to his majesties lieges and subjects and a silver penny yearly at WhitSunday." *Historical Manuscripts Commission of Great Britain IV*, Appendix.

These were the Presbyterians. Those who felt more comfortable nearer to the forms of the Catholic Church became Episcopalians. The same differences of opinion prevailed in England, and the sympathy of each group was extended to its own kind across the Border.

But there was much involved besides religion. The two parties had diametrically opposed interests and points of view and they were bound to fight over something. The form of worship happened to be the burning question at the moment, so it was religion they fought about; just as later the American colonists ostensibly fought England over the tax on tea, when really they had decided to declare themselves an independent nation and took the tax as the immediate issue. Furthermore, death sentences for "treason" were common for actions that nowadays would be considered anything but treason. A person beheaded for this crime in those days, might have been guilty only of being on the losing side in a political contest.

Religion at that time was the main emotional outlet of the Scottish people and the Campbells made religion a most important part of their daily life. According to *Ladies of the Covenant*:

"It was the custom of the Marquis (Archibald Campbell) to arise at 5 in the morning and continue in private till eight o'clock; and beside family worship and private prayer in the morning and evening, he usually prayed with his lady at the same seasons, his valet and her maid-servant being present."⁵

Alexander Gordon, minister at Inveraray during the days of the eighth Earl, writes in *Argyll Papers* that three ministers

⁵ Archibald Campbell was married in 1626 to Margaret Douglas, 2nd daughter of his cousin William Douglas, 9th Earl of Morton. Charles I had proposed that he marry Elizabeth Stewart of the House of Lennox, but too late learned that the young lady had already married another man without royal permission. It is an interesting side light on the times to note that Elizabeth's father did three months in the Tower of London as punishment for this family faux pas.

were maintained at the seat of the Campbells. Gordon preached each Sunday afternoon; David Dickison preached each Sunday morning; while Patrick Simpson preached on Thursdays, and Argyll took notes on the sermons as they were being delivered.

The same book tells of a minister who responded with such fervor when called upon to pray that the sweat poured from him, whereupon his wife three times removed his wig, wiped the sweat from his head and brow and replaced the wig without his giving any sign that he knew what was being done. The incident was recounted as proof of the minister's earnestness and piety.

Most people learned their religion by rote and every line and form of presentation was sacred, not to be meddled with under any pretext whatever.⁶

Charles I did not get to Edinburgh to be formally crowned King of Scotland till 1633, and the Earl of Argyll, as one of the officers of the realm, took an active part in the ceremony. It went off quietly enough, but the affair failed to cement the two countries as Charles had hoped. Certain of the forms observed during the coronation were felt to be close to Papacy and the rumor ran through the kingdom that unless a determined stand was taken the Scottish people would be delivered into the hands of the Pope. The Presbyterians helped spread the rumor, some because they were sorely and truly afraid, others because they wanted to cause trouble.

⁶None could exceed the Scottish churchman in strictness of view. Says James Hogg in *Jacobite Relics*:

"I have seen them myself when distributing the sacrament formally debar from the table the King and all his Ministers; all witches and warlocks; all who had committed or attempted suicide; all who played at cards or dice; all the men who had ever danced opposite a woman and every woman who had danced with her face to a man; all the men who looked at their cattle or crops, and all women who pulled green kail or scraped potatoes on the Sabbath day: and I have been told that in former days they debarred all who used fanners for cleaning oats instead of God's natural wind."

To add fuel to the flames within the next few years came the King's decision to change the Book of Canons (church law) and to issue a new Liturgy (church ritual) for the Scottish church. This he did without warning. The principal changes he proposed in church law were to declare the King head of the Church as well as of the State; to outlaw the Presbyterian religion and give uncontrolled power to the bishops; in other words with one stroke he turned the Presbyterian world topsy-turvy and confirmed its worst fears. As a result, a major part of the people of Scotland broke with the King in what amounted to outright rebellion, and the "Covenanter" movement was born in Edinburgh, February 27, 1638.⁷

A halo has been built around the Covenant by writers inclined in that direction, but in reality it was just another Scottish bond or agreement, and every Presbyterian was urged to sign it. Most of them did. In fact in many cases those who were slow to sign were told by their neighbors to do so "or else."

Archibald Campbell was in a difficult position. He was a Presbyterian and in sympathy with the tenets of the Covenant, but he was also a member of the King's Privy Council and sworn to maintain as law the edicts of the King. As Justiciar of Argyllshire and the Western Isles he was the principal law enforcement officer of that territory. In this crisis the King

⁷ The reception given the King's new church form of worship is vividly described in *Ladies of the Covenant*, where it is related that notice was given that on July 23, 1637 the new Service Book should be read in the Old Church of St. Giles by the Dean of Edinburgh.

"No sooner did he begin to read than the indignation of the people was aroused; "false antichrist," "wolf," "beastly bellied god," "crafty fox," "ill-hanged thief," were some of the appellations . . . a humble female who kept a cabbage stall at the Tron Kirk . . . exclaimed at the top of her voice "villain doest say mass at my lug (ear)?", and launched at his head the cutty (little) stool on which she had been sitting . . . to give him a ticket of remembrance, but jouking (ducking the head) became his safeguard at that time. . . . The Church was immediately emptied of most of its congregation.

sent to Scotland for his Councilors to visit London and advise with him, sending a special and personal invitation to Archibald Campbell for, "he was," says Baillie, "by far the most powerful subject in the Kingdom." Charles I knew that the Earl of Argyll was inclined to join the Covenanters and wished to forestall such a move on the part of the Clan Campbell if possible. At that time the Highland clans were not generally signers and there were plans afoot to overwhelm the rest of the country by a "rising" in the north.

But the King made no progress with his powerful subject from Argyllshire. Archibald's father, on hearing that his son was coming to London, had gone to the King with the suggestion that the young Privy Councilor be thrown into prison on his arrival. "If you don't do it," said the old Earl, "he will wind you a pirn."⁸ This conversation was reported to Archibald and he hastened out of London and back to Argyllshire, for he well knew the arbitrary rules then enforced by a sovereign who threw a man into jail first and justified it afterwards.

About that time Argyll learned that the King was plotting to send an army of Irish soldiers, together with members of the Clan MacDonald, across the short waterway into Argyllshire and had promised the Earl of Antrim, their leader, a part of the Campbell holdings in case of victory. The reaction of the Highlanders was characteristic, and in spite of the fact that the Irish did not come till six years later the first rift had appeared. When the Assembly (delegates to the national convention of the church) met in November 1638, Archibald Campbell took such a prominent part that Baillie in his account of one day says "they did nothing of moment because of Argyll's absence at a funeral." The Campbells, along with

⁸ A pirn was a ring or twitch for the nose such as was used in handling bulls or other unruly animals. Charles I got his pirn in time, as predicted, but his English, rather than his Scottish, subjects were the ones who did most of the winding.

many other Highland clans, had become Covenanters, and in doing so had served notice on Charles that they would have their own church with their own type of service and not the one decreed by him, with himself as head and chief rule maker. In short they dared the King to civil war.

The inevitable clash was not long in coming. Both sides drew their swords. The Marquis of Hamilton and the Douglas supported the King. The Marquis of Huntley, leader of the Gordons and brother-in-law of the Earl of Argyll, held Aberdeenshire for the Crown against the Covenanters temporarily, while Charles's Army moved toward the Scottish border with about 20,000 poorly-equipped, and poorly-fed soldiers. They were mainly English, although there was Douglas representation among the leaders this time in the person of the ninth Earl of Morton, father-in-law of Archibald Campbell. The main body of the Scottish army moved to the Border to meet the English, while Archibald stayed behind at Stirling with a sort of general rear-guard and reserve troops, to put down any hostility that might arise from within or without the kingdom. The "war" was soon over. Neither side wanted to fight. The King knew it would be unwise to spill the blood of his subjects and the Scots had no desire to start trouble and perhaps a long-drawn-out war with the English by a pitched battle. Huntley was taken in the north and imprisoned while the King called for a meeting in the field under safe-conduct of the Scottish leaders with him. So Argyll left Stirling and proceeded to Dun's Law, where the armies were encamped, and helped arrange an armistice; while the English soldiers regarded with open-mouthed wonder the strange speech and dress of the Highland force which accompanied him.⁹

⁹ A Dr. Gardiner of the English forces writing home gives a detailed description of their appearance and closed by saying "their ensigns had strange devices and strange words, in a language unknown to me, whether their own or not I know not."

Peace was had with the King, and all seemed secure again except that Charles I expressed to his friends the wish that he might have Argyll's head, while the latter's father-in-law, Douglas, gave him a tongue lashing for insubordination and declared him to be at the root of the day's evil. He recalled the trouble and expense caused him by Archibald whom he had evidently fostered,¹⁰ and in short gave him a typical in-law going over.

But nothing was really settled. The King's representatives continued to wrangle with the Covenanters while the bishops stayed on in Scotland. In fact "Altercating Parliament" was the name given the Scotch legislators of 1640. In the same year the King sent to the Provost of Edinburgh a proclamation depriving Argyll of his office of Justiciar of Argyll and Tarbert and commending that none should obey him, or pay him rent, taxes or duties until he had appeared personally before the Parliament of England and answered certain charges against him. This Archibald was far too wise to do, especially with the Tower of London so handy to the English House of Parliament. When the Scottish magistrates reminded the King that no man could be legally taken to England for trial, the matter was dropped and the proclamation destroyed, with no harm except to the prestige of the King, who was already in such poor standing in Scotland that one setback more or less was of small account.

¹⁰ Fostering was common in Scotland at that time. Children were placed with friends or relatives who brought them up as their own, the object being to tie strong families more closely together. A contract was often entered into whereby the foster child would receive a "bairn's part" of all goods of the foster parents along with the true children—land excepted. The foster child assumed the duties of a true child agreeing to defend his foster parents in all lawful actions and quarrels, his true parents excepted. The foster parents agreed to send the child to school and treat it as their own. It is certain that Archibald's son, who became the 9th Earl, was fostered to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy. There is doubt as to whether or not the 8th Earl was actually legally fostered by the Douglas, but it is believed he was.

The King was also having trouble in England with his own Parliament, which refused to permit him to levy taxes as he might wish, and would give him no support toward a war with Scotland; it seemed to the Covenanters a good time to clean up opposition in Scotland. Archibald was given, by Parliament, commission of fire and sword against

“the Earl of Athole and the Lord Ogilvie with their accomplices the Farquharsons on the Braes of Mar and the inhabitants of Badenoch, Lochaber and Rannoch”¹¹

The campaign lasted only about six weeks. The vassals of Huntley were dispersed, their goods taken and ruin visited upon them. The historical exploit of the occasion was the burning of the Castle of Airlie, one of Scotland's very strong fortified places which became celebrated in a popular poem. Its destruction was later avenged in full upon the Campbell retainers in Clackmannan County when every house except two of the Campbell holdings was burned. This campaign brought Archibald Campbell as near rebellion as a man could come and yet be within the law. It is true that he received his commission from the government of Scotland but this government instead of being legally constituted was one that had usurped the powers of the King's government; in other words he acted legally under an illegal government. Furthermore, during this campaign his followers began talking of his “descent from Robert Bruce” and of his ability to take the Crown by force, which sounded well to his Covenanting retainers and perhaps to himself, although there was no truth in it. Historians pretty well agree that Archibald Campbell was not a man who aspired to office. Willcock says:

“It was in accordance with his policy and temperament to take greater pleasure in exercising power than in having the show of

¹¹ Acts of Parliament—See Vol. 4—Great Britain's Historical Documents Commission.

it; so that his abstention from open possession of office is not to be explained so much by his abounding in the virtue of modesty and self denial as by a weakness for wirepulling in secret which seems inseparable from some types of Scottish character."

In spite of Archibald's tendency to work behind the scenes, the next move was an attempt to bring him into the open as ruler of Scotland by setting up a military dictatorship of which "a particular man" was to be head. The plan was to raise an army, defy the King and place the ruling power of the country in the hands of a dictator till such time as Charles I could be brought to some agreement as to affairs in Scotland. By general consent Archibald Campbell was to be the dictator, although it was understood that no names should be mentioned until such time as the army was raised and the dictatorship safely accomplished. A bond was written, the project discussed, support solicited; and all seemed well until James Graham, fifth Earl of Montrose, was approached. He violently opposed the plan and circulated a counterbond against "the indirect practising of a few." This agreement, called the "Bond of Cumbernauld," was signed in secret by Archibald's enemies and split Scotland down its political middle. Its signers championed the monarchy and supported Charles. Its opponents supported Argyll and the popular side. It probably prevented Archibald Campbell, eighth Earl of Argyll from becoming the "Cromwell of Scotland," which was probably just as well, for Archibald was not the fiery, rabble-rousing type who could have whipped up a popular following; and he was no Cromwell in military ability. It marked the beginning of a feud which developed into a war to the death between Montrose and Argyll and almost ruined the Campbells. It is true that they finally overcame Montrose but there is small satisfaction in seeing your enemy hanged when the victory is bought by general slaughter and starvation of friends and family. And this is what happened to the Campbells.

On August 20, 1640 the Scottish army, with Argyll in command of a division, crossed into England. Again Charles I was quarreling with most of the leaders in his own country, the war was again quickly over, and the Scots obtained everything they asked, including 300,000 pounds sterling (one and a third million dollars) to pay the provisioning of the Scottish troops which occupied and held the north of England. They returned home with the cheers of a large fraction of England ringing in their ears, for Charles was steadily losing ground at home and the Scottish cause was more popular in England than the English King. Again a peace was patched up, for a nation does not fly into civil war over night, but gets itself used to the idea a little at a time, by sallies and preliminary skirmishes. Invited by the Scottish leaders, the King agreed to visit their country and was graciously received in Edinburgh. Attended by trumpeters, he was escorted up the Canonsgate Road to the Parliament House, accompanied by the Marquis of Hamilton carrying the crown, the Earl of Sutherland carrying the sword of state and the Earl of Argyll carrying the scepter.¹²

But though the forms were carefully followed, King Charles soon found to his sorrow that "form" was about all he possessed in Scotland. The Scottish leaders gave him small part in the government of their land, even rebuking him when he failed to attend church to their liking. The appointment of all officers was taken from him by forcing him to submit his suggestions to a committee led by Argyll; his every act was subject to its supervision. Archibald Campbell and his friends

¹² The hazards of officeholding in Scotland in the middle 1600's are shown by the fact that three of the four most prominent men in that procession were later beheaded by their political enemies. The King's life was taken by a faction of his own people, who finally decided that after all a King, like any other mortal, *could* do wrong. Hamilton was beheaded for supporting his King, while Archibald Campbell was also beheaded, but his crime lay in *not* supporting the Royal Cause.

were definitely in the saddle in Scotland and they rode the King hard.

Two principal offices were open to appointment when Charles arrived—those of chancellor and treasurer—and the Campbells moved to secure both. Sir John Campbell, first Earl of Loudoun, was made chancellor, and the treasurer-ship went to a committee of five of which the Earl of Argyll was one.

The appointment of the Earl of Loudoun brought another branch of the Campbell family into a key office in Scotland and greatly strengthened the hand of the Earl of Argyll. The Loudoun Campbells descended from an ancestor of the Argyll branch and had come into the Barony of Loudoun in 1303 by marriage between Duncan Campbell, grandson of the famous Mac Cailein Mor Campbell, and Susannah Crawford of Loudoun, heiress to the title and property. In due time a descendant of this family was created Lord Campbell of Loudoun by James VI and made Privy Councilor. Margaret, Baroness Loudoun, daughter of Lord Campbell, held this title through lack of a brother, and in 1629 married Sir John Campbell of Lower, a descendant of the Glenorchy Campbells. In 1633, when he was given the title of Earl of Loudoun, and made Chancellor, this ancient branch of the Campbell clan came into a more prominent place in the politics of Scotland.¹³

Various appointments suggested by the King were vetoed by Argyll, including the appointment of the Douglas, Earl of Morton, his father-in-law as treasurer because, as Ar-

¹³ One of the recommendations of John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun for high office in the anti-Royalist government then in control of Scotland was the fact that he had "done time" in the Tower of London for the alleged offense of soliciting aid from France against the Crown. The charge was not proven and Loudoun was released, but the damage was done so far as enmity to the King was concerned and he was a "safe man" in the eyes of the Covenanters.

gyll said, "The Earl was heavily in debt and public welfare took precedence over private friendship.¹⁴ The King found himself definitely second in power to Archibald Campbell in Scotland, which was not to his liking nor to that of the Earl of Montrose, who was a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle as a result of attempting to stir up trouble between the King and his subjects (mainly the Earl of Argyll) by the use of forged documents. Leasing-making the crime was called, and the punishment was death. However, amnesty was extended to the King's friends as a result of his visit; and Montrose was let loose to plague the Campbells many a day before he came again to prison and the gallows.

Then came rumors of a plot to kidnap Argyll, place him on a ship and send him to England, or kill him in case of attempted rescue. Argyll fled to friends outside Edinburgh, where he waited for the atmosphere to clear. The outcry of the common people over the danger to their popular leader was so great that the King quickly denied any part in the affair; and to show his high regard he raised Archibald Campbell in rank, giving him the title of Marquis of Argyll (he was the only Campbell ever to hold this title) and with it a pension of 1000 pounds per year and the revenue of the Episcopal See of Argyll and the Isles; which might seem overly generous unless we remember that Archibald served his country without pay from any of his offices and did not avail himself of the free quarters allowed soldiers in service. He definitely lost money serving his country even when his various titles and grants are taken into consideration, and as a result was hounded and reviled by his creditors in later years.¹⁵

¹⁴ Perhaps in this connection the tongue lashing his father-in-law had given Archibald at Dun's Laws should be remembered.

¹⁵ While in London in 1655 he was arrested for debt by the widow of the Earl of Dirleton in connection with accounts having to do with the supply of meal to the Scots army. Archibald was able to get the Crown to

In the Fall of 1641 King Charles, having pacified Scotland and the Covenanting party by granting them everything they asked, returned to England to try to bring order to his English subjects, who were jealous of the freedom granted Scotland. Many of them were determined to wrest from the King like recognition for themselves. But nothing was really settled in Scotland. In spite of all that the King had done toward peace and harmony, Argyll still knew that should the wheel turn and the King get the upper hand, the Campbells would be severely penalized. Argyll decided to stand resolutely by the English Parliament in its defiance of the King.¹⁶ This he was able to do with great effect, for never before had Archibald Campbell stood so high in Scotland, and incidentally, he never was to stand so high again. The time of travail for the Campbells was at hand.

England finally moved into civil war at home, which ended in the formation of the Commonwealth under Cromwell.

When the English Parliament revolted against the King a "Committee of Both Kingdoms" was formed to control the war. Archibald Campbell was a member of this committee, which put him definitely in revolt against Charles. He was also in command of a portion of the Scottish cavalry as the army moved to a successful campaign against the King in northern England. Later, when the Marquis of Huntley

acknowledge responsibility and award him a grant of the excise on strong water not to exceed 3000 pounds per year. It was not uncommon for governments with empty treasuries and short memories to forget the debts incurred in their behalf by loyal subjects under stress of war.

¹⁶ Says Mark Napier in *Montrose and the Covenanters*: "Argyll was the snake in the grass to his sovereign as Hamilton was the serpent in his bosom."

Napier, no friend of the Campbells, failed to recognize that in politics as played in seventeenth century Scotland, the stakes were a man's neck. Enough damage had been done to the King's pride and prestige to have insured a procession to the gallows had Charles I ever gained the upper hand, and Archibald Campbell, as leader of the opposition, would have been in the front rank.

broke out in the Aberdeen neighborhood with another Royalist rising, Argyll was made Commander-in-Chief of the forces against his brother-in-law and put Huntley to precipitate flight. It was his last success in the field. Archibald Campbell was not gifted as a military leader, as he quickly learned when real leaders came to oppose him; and this happened at once.

First came sixteen hundred Irish from the west, under the command of Alexander MacDonald. They landed on the Campbell shores and laid waste the homes of the Campbell tenants in a swath forty miles long, as they moved eastward into Huntley's country. There they were joined by the Earl of Montrose, who had been sent by the King in the spring of 1644 to be Commander-in-Chief of the Royalist forces in Scotland. Montrose had joined with the King when the real break came. He and Archibald Campbell were to be always on opposite sides till Montrose went down in the death grapple. He had come from England disguised as a groom; his arrival made a real difference to the royal fortunes. The new general quickly defeated two Covenanter forces sent against him and then, by fast marching, evaded a third army under Argyll which chased him for months. When winter came Argyll went to Edinburgh and resigned his commission. It was turned over to General Baillie, who went into winter quarters while Montrose, working quietly under cover, proceeded to rally the enemies of the Campbells from far and near—and they were not long in coming. From all sides they gathered—the MacDonalds of Keppoch, of Glengarry, and Glen Nevis; the Stuarts and Robertsons of Athol; the Camerons of Lochabar—good fighting men all, with generations of blood feud behind their hatred for the Campbells and with visions of revenge for men dead in the fields and for landscapes lighted with the blaze of burning thatch. While Charles I benefitted, it was not really a rising for the King. What it really amounted to was a revolt against the Camp-

bells and the cock-of-the-walk attitude they had maintained in the West Highlands for hundreds of years.

It was winter, a time when soldiers in those days customarily retired from the field, but the MacDonalds urged immediate attack. "Is there food for an army in the Campbell country?" asked Montrose. "If good houses and fat cows will do you," replied a MacDonald, "there is plenty." And so a winter attack was ordered.¹⁷

Montrose's men struck first through the Breadalbane country, wading the snowdrifts and driving through weather in which no army could be expected to be abroad, killing every Campbell of fighting age they encountered, burning houses and driving off cattle. Archibald Campbell was in Inveraray preparing for a spring campaign, when a frightened retainer rushed to him with the news that the Montrose forces were devastating the country. Archibald had no force with which to resist, so he fled to Dumbarton to escape the capture which would undoubtedly have meant death. From December 13, 1644 to the end of January 1645, the enemies of the Campbells took their full revenge. For six weeks the Campbell country blazed and bled while generations of dead MacDonalds were paid for, man for man, and a huge tract in Argyllshire was laid a smoldering waste. Only when the enemy clansmen drew off to return home laden with plunder did the holocaust slacken. The desire to kill and burn dies out even in the most vicious of civil wars, and so some of the Campbell country was spared.

In the meantime Argyll had rallied a force of Campbells under Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck which he joined with a Covenanter force of Lowlanders, and returned to the fray. Again the superior military qualities of the Earl of Montrose came to the fore. He struck with all his force on February 1, 1645 and struck hard. For hours there was

¹⁷ Willcock, *op. cit.*



Valentine

WATCHTOWER HILL AND INVERARAY CASTLE

The castle is seen far below and also the little town of Inveraray on the shore of Loch Fyne. In spite of the watch kept in this town, the MacDonalds surprised the Campbells here in the winter of 1644 and so devastated the country that an appropriation of 30,000 pounds was expended by the Scottish Parliament to rehabilitate the Campbells. Loch Fyne here leads down to the Firth of Clyde and gives ready access to Glasgow. The scenery along the Fyne is much like that encountered on a trip up the Hudson River from New York City. During the summer excursion boats make regular trips to Inveraray stopping at the Kyles of Bute on the way.

The present castle was built more as a residence than a fort. It is therefore more comfortable to live in than many Campbell castles. A glassed-in canopy running from the drive to the front door of the castle was built especially for a visit of Queen Victoria, who was the mother-in-law of the ninth Duke of Argyll.



pitched battle. In the end the efforts of their leaders proved vain and over half of the Covenanting force was lost—1500 of them Campbells. Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck and fourteen gentlemen of rank perished in the slaughter while the Marquis of Argyll, with his arm in a sling, went aboard a sloop and escaped by water.¹⁸ The military power of the Campbells was broken, their men were scattered and hunted to death. For the last time Archibald Campbell had led a force of his own name in the field.

One more attempt was made by Argyll to lead a force of Covenanters against Montrose, although they were not Campbells, in a battle fought at Kilsyth on August 15, 1645, half-way between Stirling and Glasgow. In this instance Argyll was saved by being well mounted. Again the slaughter of the Covenanters was terrific and their defeat complete. Only the fact that Cromwell in England overcame the King's forces with the same celerity as that with which Montrose won for the King in Scotland saved the cause of the Presbyterians as the war went on. Archibald again took to the water at Queensferry and sailed to Newcastle. From there he went to Berwickshire, where he attempted to counteract the influence of Montrose with the Border lords.

But nothing could save the Campbells—their substance had been expendable and it was gone. Now, in their helplessness they were to suffer further. Alaster MacDonald and a strong body of Highlanders, knowing of the Campbell plight,

¹⁸ There has been a great deal of discussion regarding the personal courage of Archibald Campbell. George Wishart, who gave the Campbells no more than their due in any of his writing, says of this battle:

"All night they stood at their arms, and making frequent sallies and skirmishes one with the other gave the other no rest or retreat. All others earnestly expected the day; only Argyll being more advised than the rest conveyed himself away at the dead of night; and this second time taking boat saved himself from the peril of battle as if he intended to be umpire between the armies being himself out of gunshot: stood spectator of other men's valor and well to."

marched away from Montrose without permission and for over a year carried on a private war in Argyllshire, plundering and killing. The government made no attempt to stay their hands except to issue bulletins ordering them to desist. The Campbells were reduced to the depths of destitution. After the MacDonald oppression was lifted, the Parliament of 1646-47 ordered that 30,000 pounds sterling be spent to rehabilitate Argyllshire, with a third of that amount awarded Archibald Campbell to compensate him for his personal losses. Throughout Scotland collections were made in the churches for the benefit of the helpless tenantry who were living a miserable life on what they could find to eat (including grass in the fields), while efforts were made to reassemble the scattered clan which had fled afar to escape the wrath of its vengeful neighbors.

For years there were no rents paid on Campbell holdings in Argyllshire and the plight of the clan became of national concern. The Campbells who had lived by the sword almost perished by the sword—but not quite. There was life in the Campbells yet.

CHAPTER XI

A Campbell Head Appears on the Tolbooth

THE TERRIBLE BEATING taken by Archibald Marquis and Eighth Earl of Argyll, at the hands of the MacDonalds would have ended the career of anyone except a man thoroughly entrenched in the government. With the Campbells dispersed, their homes ruined and most of their fighting men dead, Archibald was without his "sword arm." All he had left was his generally accepted leadership of the Covenantee party and his seasoned skill in the give and take of Scottish politics.

Ironically enough, Montrose was more embarrassed by winning than the Campbell leader was by losing, for his army had been held together mainly by the opportunity it offered for looting and unrestrained license. The soldiers' pay was small, and often late or entirely forgotten. When the Covenantee armies disbanded Montrose had no further excuse for sacking cities and robbing countrysides. His army, bit by bit, went home, and as a result he was defeated by the Covenanters at Philliphaugh. He fled northward and finally escaped abroad with a price of 20,000 pounds on his head, and there he remained for several years. When he came back with an attempt to regain his former leadership by force of arms he came only to the scaffold as a traitor to Cromwell's Commonwealth. He had returned too soon. Had he waited till the Stuarts were restored, he might have come as a hero, with a high place in the Government of Charles II.

The complete military triumph of the Royalists in Scotland

was balanced by complete military disaster in England. The King fled to the friendly Scottish forces for refuge and called upon his friends to try to save something of the wreck he had made of his reign. Most of the Scottish leaders had an in-born reverence for the Stuarts and Archibald Campbell, as the most able negotiator in Scotland, was sent to London to do what he could for Charles. On June 25, 1646 the Marquis made his plea before a joint committee of the Lords and Commons and asked for a softening of the terms offered the King but they, remembering the long line of severed heads which marked the return to power of many a submerged leader, sternly stood their ground and would have no compromise. Argyll returned and recommended that the King accept the best offer of the English leaders.

The terms were not outrageously hard. The King could have his throne again by giving up all claim to the headship of the Church, by granting religious freedom to the Presbyterians, and by ceding control of the army to Parliament. This last proviso was absolutely necessary if the Rebels were to protect themselves against the King's lust for vengeance. They could scarcely have given him better terms and lived.

But the King would have none of it. For two hundred and seventy five years the Stuarts had been rulers by Divine Right—or at least they thought so—and they had always felt it beneath them to bargain for what was "rightfully theirs." Charles vetoed any consideration of compromise.

The next move was the one that sealed the King's fate. He drew up a bond with his sympathizers in Scotland called, "The Engagement," whereby another army was raised and sent to invade England with the expressed purpose of breaking the forces of Cromwell. The leadership of the army was given to the Earl of Hamilton, a man of no repute as a general. With the proven genius of Cromwell against him, a disastrous outcome was certain. Archibald Campbell said so

and refused to be a party to the ill-fated attempt. When Cromwell destroyed the Royalist force at the battle of Preston and took both the King and Hamilton prisoner, Argyll's judgment was vindicated. This however, gave small comfort to Hamilton,¹ who was executed in March 1648 by the Commonwealth; nor to the King, who was thrown into prison. In fact it gave small comfort even to Argyll, for when his turn came to be tried for treason in later years, his lack of enthusiasm for "The Engagement" was cited as a proof of his disloyalty to his sovereign.

The defeat at Preston was the end of the Royalist cause, as far as Charles I was concerned. The supporters of the Stuart heirs disappeared "underground" if they wanted to live. Those who remained in sight were put under ground by the enemy . . . the important difference being that the latter never reappeared, while the former not only reappeared but eventually took over.

Archibald Campbell was one of the first to recognise the temporary end of the Royalist cause and, as head of the Scottish government, he invited Cromwell to visit Edinburgh. Here he and Cromwell had private meetings to which considerable significance has been attached by the enemies of the Campbells, who maintain that Cromwell must have made known his intention to execute the King. The friends of the Campbells say "not necessarily so." You can reconstruct as you wish the private conversations of these two leaders. No one else has been able to do so with any authority. At any rate Cromwell was housed in the home of the Earl of Moray on the Canongate Road—a famous place then and now in the

¹ Anne, the 2nd daughter of Hamilton, had at one time been contracted to marry Argyll's son by an agreement which carried a forfeit of 36,000 merks (2000 pounds sterling) against the family that broke it. When Hamilton and Argyll disagreed, however, the contract was dissolved by mutual consent. Anne later married a Douglas who became Duke of Hamilton, and from them the modern family is descended.

history of Scotland and the Campbells--and there the two leaders held their meetings.

Cromwell returned home and shortly thereafter the assembled Scottish Parliament received word that Charles had been beheaded.² The Scots were shocked and outraged and their Parliament lost no time in taking action. On February 5, 1649 it declared Charles II King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland and sent emissaries to invite him to Scotland to begin his reign, an invitation which had the support of Argyll. It was while the negotiations for the return of Charles II were under way that Montrose returned from the Continent to invade Scotland with an inferior force and was readily taken. His capture led to one of the most dramatic incidents in Campbell history.

The Scottish Parliament had declared Montrose a traitor and the sentence is still remembered for its severity:

"So soon as he shall come to town he shall be met at the gate by the Magistrates and the Hangman; That he should be tyed with cords upon a Cart bareheaded; and the Hangman to ride upon the horse that draw the cart, covered (with his hat upon his head) before him and so be brought through the town. That he should be hanged upon a gibbet at the cross of Edinburgh until he died, his Historie and Declaration hanging about this neck, and so hang three hours in public view of all the people; after which he should be beheaded and quartered. His head to be fixed upon the prison house of Edinburgh and his legs and arms over the gates of the cities of Sterling, Glasgow, Perth and Aberdeen."³

This sentence was carried out to the letter. Montrose was met at the City Gate, probably in the evening, for the record shows that he was not lodged in jail till night, and the cart

² Charles I may be summed up as a pious family man, who was not sufficiently adept at politics to save his own head. Says Buchanan, quoting Kirkton, "I never heard his enemies blame him for the common vices of princes, except two bastards in his youth and his swearing in his old age."

³ William Adams, *History of Wars in Scotland*.

proceeded up the Canongate Road with the hangman riding the horse. Other prisoners in the procession walked ahead with the guards well about them, with a considerable crowd following, and plenty of noise.

The date was May 13, 1650 and at the home of the Earl of Moray on Canongate Road the wedding of Archibald, Lord Lorne, eldest son and heir of Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyll was being celebrated. He was marrying Lady Mary Stewart, eldest daughter of the fourth Earl of Moray. As the procession of prisoners came up the road the wedding party came out on a small balcony at the front of the house to ascertain the cause of the uproar. Then it was that the Marquis of Argyll came face to face again for a moment with the man who above all others had been the root of such bitter loss to the Campbell clan and its leaders. The hangman, thinking it politic to do so, stopped the cart. History disagrees as to what was said or done but all are agreed that the affair greatly upset Argyll and he returned to the inner part of the house in haste. On May 21 Montrose was hanged⁴ and on that very day the youngest daughter of the Marquis was born; all combining to make that week a high point in the history of the Campbell family.

Lord Lorne, who was of age at the time of his marriage, soon began to assert himself. He had spent the previous two years in Continental Europe and while there had come under the influence of Charles II. He had been accompanied to the Continent by Lord Mauchline, the son of John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, and the two young men had become firm Royalists; Lord Lorne went so far as to declare his willingness to serve Charles II even against his own father and other Campbell leaders if necessary—which in time came to pass.

Charles II returned to Scotland and was crowned at Scone,

⁴ About forty of his officers were executed at the same time in various parts of the kingdom. Sir Ewen Cameron, *Memoirs*.

the Marquis of Argyll himself placing the crown upon his head. For hundreds of years the Campbells had assisted in the crowning of their monarchs and this was no new experience for them; but when a few years later Charles refused to raise his hand to save Archibald from the scaffold he set quite a record for history. There may be another King who sent to the scaffold the man who actually set the crown upon his head but certainly few such have been recorded.

Again the Campbells moved to bring one of their name into the charmed circle of the royal family. The young King was unmarried, his mother was Catholic, his good intentions were suspect by most of the Covenanting party; and with good reason, as was later proved. It was proposed that Charles take as his wife the daughter of some well-known Presbyterian family as a balance against the Catholic portion of his family. Lady Anne Campbell, eldest daughter of the Marquis, was suggested as a proper choice. Again there is disagreement as to just what happened. Some say that Charles II was playing for time and never seriously intended to make the match. Others say he visited the lady at Inveraray and compromised her to such an extent that she lost her mind. At any rate there was no wedding, and a background of ill feeling between Argyll and Charles began to be built up.

Then Archibald Campbell made another of the moves that accumulated ill will on the part of Charles II and undoubtedly helped tilt the scales when Argyll needed help from the King to save him from the scaffold. The story is told by the Reverend Robert Wodrow:

"In 1650 at Stirling Argyll used freedom with Charles II for ravishing some women, his drinking and drawing up with malignants.

"After King Charles' coronation, when he was in Stirling the Marquis waited long for an opportunity to deal freely with the King anent his going contrary to the Covenant, and favoring

malignants, and other sins; and one Sabbath night, after supper, he went with him to his closet, and there used a great deal of freedom with him; and the King was seemingly sensible with him, and they came that length as to mourn and pray together till 2 or 3 in the morning, and when at that time he came home to his lady, she was surprised and told him she never knew him so untimerus: he said he never had such a sweet night in the world, and told her all—what liberty they had in prayer, and how much convinced the King was. She said plainly they were crocodile tears and that night would cost him his head, which came to pass.”⁵

During this time Lord Lorne had been riding with the new King as a colonel in his newly enrolled army and had taken part in the war to overcome English opposition. After the first battle in which Cromwell won an overwhelming victory, the Campbells, father and son, retired to Argyllshire—sans royal relative and soon sans King, for Cromwell sent His Royal Highness flying over the English Channel again for safety in France. The train of events that was to send both Campbells to the scaffold was in motion.

Cromwell and his English friends had never trusted the Marquis of Argyll. While Charles II was in exile they looked upon him as at best a hibernating Royalist. Consequently they closed in upon him and made a separate treaty of peace with him as a semi-independent leader of a nearly independent principality, much after the manner of the Lords of the Isles in former days. Their treaty put severe restrictions on his freedom, including the placing of five British garrisons in his domain. No sooner had the English supporting forces left, however, than the stiff-necked Campbell retainers, who acknowledged no authority above their own in their homeland, took two of the garrisons outright and a portion of a third; so that the Marquis was forced to intercede to maintain the safety of about 300 English prisoners of war. In-

⁵ *Argyll Papers.*

stead of this leading to war, as might be expected, the English saw fit to remove all the garrisons and to confine their holding operations to two castles, upon agreement that the Marquis would live at peace with the Commonwealth and not go more than twenty miles from his home without permission.

The Marquis also promised to do all in his power to prevent uprisings and to advise the government should any seem in prospect. By the middle of 1652 all was peace and quiet in Argyllshire and Archibald Campbell was at the low ebb of his power, with little prospect of harming anyone and with the cries of his creditors ringing in his ears. For years before his death he was to be harassed by them even to the taking of his horses, gear and household goods by legal seizure.

But the Scots were determined to go to war again and on July 27, 1652 the banner of Charles II was set up in the Highlands and the call sent out for volunteers. Among those involved were John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun; Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbrech, and Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne. In accordance with his agreement, the Marquis of Argyll tried to dissuade his son from participating in what an experienced campaigner would necessarily look upon as a forlorn hope, and when the son mounted and rode off to join the rebellion the Marquis kept his word and wrote a letter advising the officers of the Commonwealth of what was afoot. This was one of the letters held against him on that dark day when it became evident that his head was to be forfeit. And the man who betrayed him was the very man, General George Monck, whom he had warned.

The insurgents confined their warring to Scotland and did no great harm except to occasion alarms here and there and thus run the Commonwealth forces back and forth till their tongues hung out and their horses broke down. It was old-fashioned guerrilla warfare and very annoying. It might have

grown into serious proportions had there been greater harmony among the forces of the Highlanders, but as usual they preferred to fight as individuals; and they had not forgotten their old feuds. Lord Lorne, upon coming face to face in camp with a MacDonald, descended upon him like a bantam rooster, for although Lorne was small in stature he was large in fighting spirit, and the parting was obtained only by force. Various other clansmen were dissatisfied with the company in which they found themselves and most of them were dissatisfied with their leadership. And so this war, like many other Scottish wars, never really got organized, but dragged along lacking men and equipment and subsisting by foraging and raiding. Lord Lorne did his part by stealing provisions and cattle from his father and the Campbell retainers for the benefit of his Royalist band; but beyond impoverishing the country little was done that really counted toward restoring Charles II to the throne.

Then came General Monck with reinforcements for the Commonwealth side and in the first encounter dispersed what remained of the rebels. All was soon peaceful. Lord Lorne was in such straits that after living on an island for a time with four or five companions, he came to his father for shelter. A meeting was called at Inveraray by the Campbell leaders who had supported the Marquis and terms were drawn up whereby Lorne could become reconciled to his family and the Commonwealth. The Marquis reported this meeting too, to General Monck, thus furnishing that worthy gentleman with more incriminating evidence against him. The son who was to be his heir and the general with whom he was co-operating to save his land from bloodshed were rapidly weaving a web about him from which he would never escape alive.

In spite of all agreements Lorne continued to be a trouble maker for the Commonwealth. Because of their meddling in politics his wife and her family, who had moved to Carrick

Castle, were ordered out of Argyllshire. Cromwell's forces were having trouble there and wanted no women mixed up in it. The family returned to Edinburgh where Lorne, upon his refusal to take an oath of allegiance in 1657, was thrown into the Castle. His confinement was not close but sufficient; so that the officials could know where he was at every hour of the day or night. (While there he was allowed the company of his wife and another Archibald Campbell was born, who was to become the first Duke of Argyll.) Lorne was confined for two and half years (which was a relief at least to his father, even if no other gain can be recorded), while Monck ruled Scotland and put down disorder with a heavy hand. In July 1659 Lorne was released from the castle upon four of his friends going bail to the extent of 10,000 pounds, that he would do nothing against the Commonwealth. Not long thereafter the Royalists took over the government.

Cromwell died September 3, 1658. There was no other Commonwealth leader who could hold the government together and General Monck, knowing that the only turncoat who ever gets anything for himself is the one who turns early, moved to London with a military force built around his Coldstream Guards and began intriguing to restore Charles II to the throne of England. On May 26, 1660 Charles II landed at Dover under Monck's protection. In a few days the monarch was secure in his kingdom and Monck's head was safe on his shoulders. A brilliant future was assured for this man who, next to Campbell, had done the most to build the Commonwealth on the ruins of the Stuart dynasty. Only a few more than a dozen men were executed as regicides and about the same number given terms of life imprisonment. An almost general amnesty was proclaimed, and, at the advice of Monck, nearly all those who had opposed the two Charleses, were forgiven—but not Archibald Campbell. The Marquis who had gone to London to intercede for Charles I

and who had set the crown on the head of young Charles II was not to be spared. Archibald Campbell was caught by the political forces of his time and was unable to defend himself against a powerful and avaricious enemy. He was worth looting and the picking soon began.

Lord Lorne went to London at once to greet the new sovereign. The King encouraged him to have his father come to England to offer support to the new government. Upon his arrival the Marquis was arrested before he could have an audience with His Majesty and thrown into the Tower, where he was imprisoned for five months. At the end of this period he was sent to Edinburgh for trial on a charge of treason. Definitely something was wrong—in fact several things were wrong.

In the first place the holdings of the Campbells extended, roughly speaking, almost entirely across the lower Highlands. The estates of the Earl of Huntley had come under Argyll's supervision when Huntley went to the block for treason in spite of all that Archibald, his brother-in-law, had been able to do to prevent it; and these, with the other Campbell holdings, made a great prize. (While imprisoned in Edinburgh Lord Lorne had been granted parole to oversee affairs on Huntley's estate.) If the Marquis could be convicted of treason or regicide, his estates would be lost without recourse. The many political supporters of Charles II saw fine properties for themselves carved from the Campbell holdings. One of those who had such visions dancing before his eyes was Middleton, the Royal Commissioner for Scotland, who thereupon became both advocate and judge and fought strenuously every move to have the charges against Argyll lightened. When Charles ordered that no sentence be passed before the whole case had been sent up to London for his review, Middleton remonstrated that such restriction was a slight upon the judgment of the Scottish Parliament.

Charles thereupon washed his hands of the whole affair and left the victim to his fate.

Lord Lorne and the friends of the Marquis were working hard in London for the benefit of the prisoner and for a time it looked as if Argyll might win his freedom. The charges of cruelty in the field when he was putting down Huntley and the claim that his opposition to the "Engagement" constituted treason were soon overcome; in fact every charge made against him in the beginning was either silly or outlawed. His hot-headed sons were his worst handicap for they talked too much, and Neil, his second son, made a trip to London where his loose remarks on the favorable progress of the case, served no purpose except to arouse the family enemies to even more strenuous efforts to win a conviction.

Then came a package of letters from George Monck. The General knew when he sent them that he was condemning Archibald to the scaffold; for while it was not treason in Great Britain to live peaceably under a usurper and obey him, it definitely was treason to give aid and comfort to his designs. There were six letters in the package. They were the letters in which Argyll had reported to Monck the actions of Lord Lorne and other Royalists, and cited them as an excuse for raising his own company of soldiers. He had also taken pains to record his loyalty to the Commonwealth. In an attempt to reassure Cromwell and thus keep an English army out of Argyllshire he had gone far enough over to the rebel side to win him a conviction for disloyalty to the Royalists. The actions of his own son had set the train in motion and the turncoats' lack of a sense of moral obligation precipitated the tragedy.⁶ Lord Lorne probably knew not what he did when he did it but Monck, whose sword was red with Royalist blood, had no such excuse; he fully understood the involved techniques of English politics. When Monck treated

⁶ Says historian Burnett "An act of inexcusable baseness."

with Charles II previous to the Restoration he refused to let his agent, John Grenville, have so much as a scrap of paper. Grenville had been obliged to commit his instructions to memory and do the best he could without a memorandum. Monck followed the rule that letters of political nature should be so written that they might be read aloud in the public square at high noon with no possible harm to the writer. Argyll, more trusting and less cautious, played fair with Monck and thereby lost his head.

The reading of Argyll's letters in Parliament settled everything. All that was left was the formal vote and Archibald Campbell was ordered beheaded by the Maiden at the Cross of Edinburgh May 27, 1661.

In spite of the please of the wife⁷ and family of the Marquis no amnesty, not even a few days reprieve could be had from the King's Commissioner Middleton, who was already savoring the rule of the Campbell territory. There was no time to hear from London and so the great Marquis of Argyll walked to the scaffold with a group of his friends, including John Campbell of Loudoun and other prominent Campbells. On each side were city magistrates and Presbyterian ministers. According to Nicoll the procession was accompanied by a detachment of Life Guards, while soldiers with colors displayed lined the streets. There were prayers by the ministers and then the Marquis spoke for half an hour giving in a prepared address his vindication of the acts for which he had been tried, and expressing his opinions on religious affairs in Scotland.

After his talk the Marquis gave his silver watch to his son-in-law and his silver pen to the Earl of Loudoun. To the

⁷ When Lady Campbell approached Middleton for a reprieve he told her the King had given him three instructions; to rescind the Covenant, to take the Marquis's head and to sheath every man's sword in his brother's breast. "Therefore," said Middleton, "I can due you noe service." *Argyll Papers*, quoting Wodrow.

Earl of Lothian he gave a double ducat and to the executioner a napkin with money in it. Then he knelt, turned to those about him and declared himself free from any part in the death of Charles I, either by contriving or counsel. He placed himself in position for the knife and after praying a little gave the signal by raising his hand. So ended the life of Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyll under the Knife of the Maiden.

The haste Middleton and his party had shown in bringing Archibald under the knife is indicated by the fact that the death warrant was not signed in London till the day after the execution; but the Campbell estates were never to pass into the hands of Middleton. Within two years Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne, eldest son of the Marquis, was restored to the Earldom.

The Marquis's head was taken from the scaffold and placed on a spike on the Tolbooth; the body was taken first to the church of St. Magdalene in the Cowgate and then to Newbattle Abbey. About a month later it was taken to Kilmun. After three years the head was removed from the Tolbooth by order of the King and what was left of it was buried with the body.

Provision was made for the Marquis's family. His widow lived on at Inveraray where she finally died of a cold caught during religious services in her apartment, when it became necessary to leave the window open to "help the chimney which did not draw well when the wind was in the west." Lord Lorne was given a yearly income of 15,000 pounds from the estate.

The Marquis had two sons and four daughters, the eldest son, Archibald, was the ninth Earl. Of the younger son we know little except that he was committed to Edinburgh Castle when his brother Archibald invaded Scotland in 1685. He died while serving as governor of Dumbarton Castle. The



Ministry of Works, Great Britain

THE LAST SLEEP OF ARGYLL

Archibald Campbell, ninth Earl of Argyll, was the second of the two leaders of the clan ordered under the Maiden. His fault was raising an insurrection against James II, King of Britain. When Archibald was captured and brought to Edinburgh after his forces had been dispersed, he was imprisoned in what is known as Argyll's Tower in the Castle.

It was his practice to take a nap each day after his lunch, and on the day of his execution he saw no occasion to make an exception. When the guards came to escort him to the scaffold it was necessary to waken him. The effect of this incident on the people was tremendous. Argyll's trial and execution was known to have had a political tinge and his calm acceptance of his fate added greatly to his prestige. He became a martyr and a legend.

This painting on the plaster wall of the corridor leading from the Central Hall to the Commons Lobby in the House of Parliament, London, is one of a series done by Edward Matthew Ward to commemorate events of the Stuart period.

daughter Anne did not live long after the ill-fated attempt to make her the bride of King Charles II and the other daughters married men of high standing, one becoming the wife of the head of the Breadalbane Campbells and another the wife of the Marquis of Lothian, to whom she bore ten children.

And so we leave one of the most powerful Campbells⁸ that ever represented the clan in Scotland—with his head on the Tolbooth and his body resigned to the earth from which it sprang. Archibald Campbell went the road that many great leaders go. So long as they are winning, the popular approval is tremendous. But such a leader must maintain the public belief that the people will be safer and more likely to prosper under his banner than under another. For a time much success attended the Marquis—then dire distress descended upon him and no one was ready to give battle to save him when his enemies moved to put him to the knife. Few leaders know when their day is done. With few exceptions they think there is left in the old pitcher at least one more trip to the well. Had Archibald retired at the right time and turned his estate over to his heir, as his father had done, he would no doubt, have lived out his life; but he tried to stay in power too long and lost.

And so they set Archibald's head on the Tolbooth and for three full years it weathered there, a lesson to those whose day has passed that they may either yield gracefully or be pushed out of the way as they shall elect.

⁸ Winston Churchill in *Marlborough, His Life and Times* calls him, "the somewhat lackadaisical Earl of Argyll." The great Prime Minister of England is seldom at a loss for an apt word but in this case it would seem that he slipped a bit. Certainly it would seem impossible that a listless or languid man could have led the popular party in Scotland for years at a time when so many, including the Royal Stuarts, were diligently striving to overthrow both the party and the leader. As we read further in the story of the Campbells we will find that the time came when their leaders were far from listless in their opposition to Marlborough.

CHAPTER XII

Another Campbell Is Kissed by the Maiden

THE ACTORS in a historical scene are always too close to the sphere of action to know what is really afoot. Therefore, as the Stuart Kings returned to power the Covenanters could have no foreknowledge of the hardships about to descend on their devoted Presbyterian heads. Argyll, with Covenanter support, had thwarted the Stuarts and had protected the Presbyterian Church against the changes demanded by the Crown. Consequently, when Argyll was beheaded and the Presbyterians fell apart into quarreling groups, it was but human nature on Charles's part to seek revenge. Trouble for Argyll's party was not long delayed.

A letter from London, written by Andrew Newport to Sir Richard Leveson on May 18, 1666, describes significant scenes in the English Parliament:

"Yesterday there was a motion made for the burning the Covenant by the hand of the hangman and that dispute lasted 5 hours; the opposers of the motion attributed the restoration of the King to it, and some others that said they had taken it, undertook to say they had served the King as well with that as others that were openly professed to his party; this made the heat much greater; at last being put to a vote, it was carried by 125 voices, and today they send to the Lords for their concurrence."

May 21, 1666:

"Today we hear Argyll was to be hanged. . . . Yesterday the Lords concurred for the burning the Covenant by the hangman."¹

¹ Great Britain Historical Manuscripts Commission. Vol. V.

With the passing of Archibald Campbell the Presbyterians of Scotland divided into two parties. One group decided that Charles was probably as good as they were likely to get and, upon his signing the Covenant,² accepted him as a Covenanted King. The more extreme group, which was determined to accept only a King of its own religious persuasion, in fact as well as in form, refused to accept Charles. Thus the strength of the Presbyterians was divided.

In 1654, when Cromwell was at the height of his power, his deputy, General George Monck, was Scotland's virtual ruler. Monck sent English soldiers to disperse the Scottish General Assembly lest it pass legislation in support of Charles. With the passing of Cromwell the Protestors (the anti-Charles party) soon lost this English support, and when Charles II came to the throne in 1660 the leaders who had opposed him were charged with treason, a convenient way of sending a political enemy into oblivion. Soon the old-time supporters of the Commonwealth had either lost influence in the Scottish government or were dead; and by formal legislative action all the laws passed during the previous twenty years for the protection of the Presbyterians were recinded.

Among those caught by this Royalist action was Archibald Campbell, Lord of Lorne, eldest son and heir of the Marquis of Argyll, whose head even at that late date, could still be viewed by anyone who would take the trouble to ride by the Tolbooth. The Campbell estates were forfeit under the treason sentence and constituted a ripe political plum. The question agitating the ambitious politicians of the King's party in Scotland was how to pick the plum without arousing too much antagonism. Charles II was in a quandary, for while the dead Marquis had been lukewarm at best in his support

² It is well known that Charles II signed the Covenant under duress and with mental reservations. A vast proportion of his subjects evidently sensed this.

of the Stuarts, and as likely to be found on one side as the other, still there could be no doubt that Lord Lorne, his son, had been the ardent friend of the King in exile, and a friend at that time was a friend indeed. Moreover, there were strong influences at court which sustained the case of Archibald Campbell and tended to offset the influence of the Scottish anti-Campbell faction.

Lord Lauderdale, whose niece on his wife's side was married to Lorne, was then strong in the King's favor³ and was induced by his family to lend his influence in behalf of Lorne.

On the other hand, Middleton, the King's Scottish Commissioner in Edinburgh, who wanted the Campbell estate was Lauderdale's most relentless political foe. The Campbells, therefore, became a football of politics and were never more "in the middle" than during the days in which Lauderdale and Middleton fought it out. Lauderdale had the advantage of daily contact with the King, while Middleton had the advantage of being the King's representative in what then amounted to a distant country. Middleton demanded a free hand for himself, which was logical, and largely got it.

To add to the Campbell troubles, Archibald almost destroyed himself by a letter he wrote. It was a very mild letter complaining of the treatment given him by Parliament and saying "he hoped the King would see their tricks." It was sent to his brother-in-law and meant for his own family, but it was intercepted and carried to Middleton, who saw a new opportunity to try for the Campbell estate. He laid the letter before the Scottish Parliament, which he controlled. The Parliament voted it treasonable and demanded that Charles II apprehend Lorne, who was then in London. Upon Lauderdale's offer to go surety, Lorne was sent to Edinburgh on his

³ Lauderdale had his most potent hold on Charles II just then through the King's Mistress, the Countess of Castlemaine, who was the mother of five children by Charles in the first years after the Restoration. She was avaricious, and Lauderdale found ways to fill her pockets.

personal parole to stand trial—and Charles took the precaution of declaring that no sentence was to be executed without the King's approval. On July 17, 1662 the young man who had in earlier days "kept house" in the prison, arrived in Edinburgh and again entered the Castle.

He pleaded his own case and assured the assembly that he had meant no personal harm to anyone nor any insult to the dignity of Parliament. Had he had the gift of prophecy he could have told them that the day would come when "interference with the mail" would be regarded as a far greater crime than criticism of politicians. Nothing that he said had any effect, however, for Middleton could dictate the vote and Archibald was declared guilty of treason. All of his lands, goods and chattels were declared forfeit and he was ordered beheaded. The sentence was passed on August 26, 1662, but he was not rushed to the scaffold as his father had been. The stay of execution ordered by Charles saved his life.

The letter approving the sentence was slow to arrive. In fact, twenty-three years passed before the sentence was carried out—with many an adventure in between and many better reasons for beheading Archibald Campbell than the writing of a family letter. It is true that he finally was beheaded, but that is another story.

Lord Lorne again went back to prison while the Middleton party raged on. A law making it a criminal offense to intercede with the King for children attainted⁴ by the Scottish Parliament was immediately passed. It was aimed at Lauderdale, who could approach the King at any time in behalf of Lorne, for he not only helped the King with his serious work in the daytime, but was the companion of his frivolities at night. (As yet no one has been able to determine whether it was his daytime or his night time activities that gave Lauderdale his strongest influence with Charles.)

⁴ Attainted, subject to penalty for treason or felony.

Another act of Middleton's was to force through Parliament a capital sentence against James Guthrie, a minister of the Presbyterian Church, on the ground that he owned books and tracts of improper nature including such titles as *Causes of God's Wrath* and *Western Remonstrances*. The real cause of Guthrie's downfall however, was the fact that in 1650 he had read an excommunication of Middleton in his church at Stirling. Middleton and his party were taking revenge right and left, and Guthrie's head was one of those that fell.

The high-handed acts of the Comissioner threw the whole realm into a state of rage and fear. It began to look as if no man's life would be safe in Scotland, no matter what the law of the land might be, unless something was done to curb this soldier of fortune. Finally the showdown came between him and Lauderdale, and Middleton was removed. He retired to Surrey.⁵ It was his distinction to have brought about the sentencing to death of two prominent Campbell chiefs. No one else in Scotland or England could ever boast such a record.

The fall of Middleton released Lord Lorne after almost a year of prison. It was his fate, however, to be tried again twice for treason as it was defined in those days, and both times practically without defense.

Upon his release Archibald went to London where the ancestral estates of the Campbells were restored to him with certain reservations of land to be applied to his father's debts and the title of Marquis forfeited. Charles II acknowledged under his signature a debt of 70,000 pounds and gave the new (ninth) Earl of Argyll a written promise to pay, but he never did. (Why pay a subject who couldn't sue?) There was an outcry from debtors who were unappeased and finally a com-

⁵ Middleton, who started as a pikeman in the French army, ended his life as governor of Tangier, where he died as a result of a fall while intoxicated. He was a rough and ruthless soldier of fortune and not a man to be admired, but he did the King's dirty work and so was tolerated and provided for. He always lived comfortably and at times lavishly.

mission was appointed to settle the tangled affairs of the Campbell estate.

In September 1665 Archibald wrote to the Duke of Lauderdale regarding his debts as follows:

"The whole debt, principall and anuell is about 1,000,000 merks where of I am bound in some more than 300,000 marks. There is estate to pay me my £15,000 and relieve me of my engadgments except about £20,000, which must burthen the revision of my mother's jointure"⁶

And so with a heavy financial load on his shoulders and a family of twelve children to support, the ninth Earl retired to Inveraray to work out his salvation as best he could with the help of the King's Commissioners. He was made Privy Councilor and appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury. He raised two thousand troops to put down the rebels when the desperate Covenanters revolted in Galloway against the enforcement of church rules with torture, imprisonment and fines. Argyll was on the wrong side so far as humanity and religious freedom were concerned, but he was in no position to quarrel with the King. In 1667 he received from Charles II a new charter for all his lands and offices which is described as literally a Magna Carta of parchment; a single skin measuring 5 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 4. The Campbell family were again secure in their property by grant of the King.

It is apparent from Archibald's correspondence with Lauderdale⁷ that he took great joy in his family and estates and was more preoccupied with his own affairs on the land than with national politics. He did, however, work to keep his standing in good order with both Lauderdale and the King by an occasional shipment of "strong waters," honey, and other

⁶ 100,000 marks equalled 5555 pounds sterling. Therefore Archibald's estate owed over 50,000 pounds or in the neighborhood of a quarter of a million dollars. It is not likely this was ever paid, for most of it was properly a debt of the government for supplies furnished the Army.

⁷ *Lauderdale Papers*, Letters of Argyll.

viands such as country cousins often send to their relatives in the city—and which had the usual good reception. For quite a number of years all was quiet on the Campbell front.

But there was no quiet in Scotland as a whole. Lord Lauderdale had come into Scotland as Royal Commissioner and in 1669 he presided over his first meeting of the Scottish Parliament. For ten years he was to make life a burning misery for the Covenanters and a great part of Scottish hatred for Charles II can be laid at his door. He immediately carried through Parliament a statute which placed in the hands of the Crown all lawmaking for the Church and which declared that any royal message sent to the Privy Council regarding Church affairs should have the force of law. During his regime many Presbyterians, including many Campbells, fled to Ulster and thus formed the foundation stock of the Scotch-Irish who later rendered magnificent service in the settling of America.

Upon Lauderdale's arrival in Scotland Archibald Campbell was on hand to meet his uncle-in-law. (The direct relationship had been broken a year earlier by the death of the Earl's wife during the birth of her thirteenth child.)⁸ In the procession incidental to the opening of Parliament, Archibald carried the scepter—the traditional participation of the head

⁸ One of the wildest episodes in Campbell history revolved around James Campbell, fourth son of the Earl. On November 14, 1690 he "carried off and forcibly married" a thirteen-year-old girl, daughter of Sir George Wharton. He was accompanied on the honeymoon by Archibald Montgomery and Sir John Johnston of Aberdeenshire. The resulting uproar was terrific. Parliament annulled the marriage and ordered Johnston hanged at Tyburn. His testimony and scaffold speech have been preserved and in it he declares that at no time did the lady object nor show any desire to do aught but participate. Johnston was unable to see why he should be hanged, nor can we; for Campbell, the prime mover and the man who received all the benefits, if any, went free and lived to become the husband of Margaret Leslie. (The two wrote a series of delightful letters.) James was a stockholder in the Darien Fiasco to the extent of 900 pounds. He became a colonel and sat in Parliament from Renfrew (1699-1707) and from Ayr (1708-1710).

of the Argyll Campbells. Lauderdale forced an official confirmation of the restitution of the Campbell holdings through his first Parliament against the votes of certain creditors who felt they should be better cared for; but he was not able to get for the Earl the office of Justice General for the Isles which would have made the Campbells again supreme in the West Highlands. The days of Lauderdale as the protector of the ninth Earl of Argyll were passing.

On Friday, January 28, 1670 there came into the Campbell family a woman of strength and character who became the second wife of Archibald—Lady Balcarres. A MacKenzie by birth, she had followed her first husband throughout his varied career, even soldiering with him in the field. She was probably older than Argyll and had already five children, among them Sophia, to whom the Campbells came to owe a great debt of gratitude when her stepfather had to be smuggled out of Edinburgh prison on twenty-four hours' notice or be reconciled to having the family bury him in two pieces. Sophia later married Charles Campbell,⁹ son of the Earl, and her sister Henrietta married Duncan Campbell, a kinsman of the Earl and his lieutenant general.

Under Lauderdale the Covenanters were harried right and left. In England, too, injustice prevailed. Charles II gave monopolies on salt and other commodities to his favorites, and the price was raised so that the profits might be large. Other favorites received revenues rightly belonging to the

⁹ The marriage of Charles Campbell and Sophia was probably in 1678. Charles was active in the ups and downs of his father's career. He participated in the expedition the 9th Earl led from Holland to conquer Scotland and, upon being sent ashore to raise men, was captured by the Marquis of Athol who prepared to hang him as a traitor at the gates of Inveraray Castle. The Privy Council stopped the execution. Charles was banished August 21, 1685 and the banishment rescinded 1689. He was elected to Parliament from Campbeltown when it was erected into a royal burgh and supported the Union of English and Scottish Parliaments. (Sophia was never punished severely for helping her stepfather escape, luckily for her. Other women in like case were flogged within an inch of their lives.)

kingdom and military captives were turned over to friends of the King to be transported overseas and sold into virtual slavery, while the favorites pocketed the money. Shilling by shilling the common people built the great fortunes of the time and groaned with every contribution.¹⁰

The role of the ninth Earl of Argyll in the Lauderdale government was somewhat passive. Certainly the Campbells were not in accord with the severe repressions put upon the Covenanters, and when matters came before the Privy Council Archibald's vote could always be counted on for the liberal side. However, toward the end of Lauderdale's days, he was in a difficult situation as a result of two marriages which in 1678 tied the families closer than ever. His daughter Anna married the Duke's nephew, who eventually succeeded to Lauderdale's title and estate, and Lauderdale's stepdaughter married Argyll's eldest son. And so, while the Presbyterians could always count on sympathetic understanding and an occasional favorable vote from the Earl, they could not depend upon him for an all-out defense against the High Commissioner.

The religious persecution intensified and was climaxed on June 22, 1679 by a battle at the Bridge of Bothwell, on the Clyde. In effect, the Presbyterians quarreled among themselves with one hand and fought the English with the other. Until the very morning of the battle they had tried to draw up a statement of their objects and mission but could not

¹⁰ It would seem that had Charles II and James II been in the pay of enemies of the British Empire they could not have worked more effectively against it. For example, in America Charles conferred upon his two friends, Arlington and Culpepper, the whole freehold of Virginia. Thus he deprived the colonists of legal title to their homes, placed 50,000 people at the mercy of the whims of two overseas adventurers and undid the patient building of 60 years of settlement. The colonists bought them off with tobacco duty and pensions. James sent out Howard, who did nothing to conceal his arbitrary state of mind. The damage was done. What happened once could happen again and Virginia was ripe for the rebellion of 1775. See Woodward, *The Expansion of the British Empire*.

agree, and they went into battle almost as angry with each other as with the royal army—and as a result were sadly defeated.

Then came a change. Lauderdale had grown old and feeble and responsibility for the rule of Scotland was given to two of Charles's relatives. The first to come north was his illegitimate son, who had assumed the name of James Scott, but is better known to history as the Duke of Monmouth.¹¹ He carried the commission of Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces and won his first battle in Scotland at Bothwell. In this battle about five hundred Covenanters were killed and a thousand taken prisoners.

The following year the King's younger brother James, then Duke of York, came to Scotland as High Commissioner and in 1681 presided over the meeting of Parliament. Upon his arrival in Scotland the first person he approached to discuss politics was Archibald Campbell. "It was necessary either to gain or ruin him," says the historian, Burnet, "seeing how great was the power of Argyll in Scotland."

It is told in the *Argyll Papers* that James said to Archibald, "my Lord, if you will do one thing, you will be the greatest man in Scotland." When asked what the one thing was the

¹¹ Early in life Monmouth was the favorite among the dozen or so illegitimate children acknowledged by Charles II. His mother, Lucy Walter, bore him while Charles was a fugitive on the Continent. At one time he was a contender for the throne, and had Charles died in 1679 when a sickness threatened to carry him off, Monmouth might have become king. He had the support of the Protestants of the Kingdom against the King's younger brother James II, who was strongly Catholic. On the field he was a brave and successful soldier. Off the field he was weak and ineffective. One of the touching events of history is the description of Monmouth brought before his uncle after the Rebellion. With his hands tied behind his back, and groveling with his face on the floor, he begged for his life. James II coldly ordered him to the scaffold. Macaulay says that Monmouth's mistress, Lady Wentworth, who shared his exile before his insurrection against his uncle James II, and who furnished a considerable part of the necessary money, had much to do with his attempt to become King. Lady Wentworth wanted to be Queen.

High Commissioner said, "Change the worst of religions for the best." To this suggestion—made while James was being entertained at the Earl's home in Stirling—Archibald turned a deaf ear.

In spite of his refusal to become a Catholic in order to gain the favor of James, Argyll was found in his place when the formal procession moved from Holyrood House for the ceremonial opening of James's first Parliament. On this occasion he carried the crown up the very street along which, four years later, he was to be led by the hangman. This was the Parliament which passed the Test Act, under which every man was required to swear an oath that he would:

1. Support the Protestant religion and never consent to any alteration in it as constituted.
2. Hold it unlawful for anyone to enter into a covenant, council or convention without the King's permission.
3. Consider it unlawful to take up arms against the King.
4. Consider it unlawful to attempt to make any change in the government of Church or State.

The oath was so poorly worded that it was subject to several interpretations, and under it the whole process of political and religious government was frozen just as it existed at the moment. Anyone advocating the slightest change was immediately subject to prosecution as a traitor. In the debate in Parliament on this piece of legislation Archibald Campbell brought out an exceedingly sore point. The Duke of York, being a Catholic, had refused to take the oath of allegiance, and it was proposed that not only the King's brother but his son also be excepted from the Test Act. Argyll objected to exceptions being allowed, his main object being to forestall the coronation of a Catholic King in the event of the death of Charles. But the argument died without Argyll's point being carried. It marked him however as an opposition leader and convinced James that Archibald Campbell never would

be his friend. The final date set for the taking of the oath was January 1, 1682.

After Parliament adjourned James demanded to see the warrants and charters under which Archibald held his estate and titles. These were at Inveraray and it was necessary to make the long trip home to get them. Upon his return to Edinburgh the Earl learned that in his absence he had been dismissed from certain of his offices and was to lose more unless he took the oath at once. He therefore knelt in the Council Chamber and did so, but with certain reservations (explanations he called them) which he had written down and which he read aloud as he had spoken the words of the oath.¹²

Because of the exceptions he had taken to the oath the Earl was promptly accused of "treason, of leasing-making and depraving the laws." Two of the judges favored him, two were against him, and a fifth who was hastily added to the panel at midnight after the hearing was practically completed, fell asleep while the proceedings were being read to him but woke up in time to vote for the death sentence¹³—which was what he had been appointed to do.

And so Archibald Campbell was back in the Castle, a prisoner with a second sentence of death hanging over him, while Scotland awaited word from the King, confirming or rejecting the sentence. The first sentence had never been

¹² Earl of Argyll's explanation of his Test Oath:

"I have considered the Test and I am very desirous to give obedience as far as I can. I'm confident the Parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths: Therefore I think nobody can explain the test but for himself. I take it, as far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant Religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind up myself in my station, and in a lawful way, to wish and endeavor any alteration I think to the advantage of Church or state not repugnant to the Protestant Religion and to my Loyalty. And this I understand as part of my oath." *No Protestant Plot*—Printed for Richard Baldwin in London 1682.

¹³ Said Lord Halifax to King Charles, "I know nothing of Scotch law but I would not hang a dog here on the grounds on which my Lord Argyll was sentenced." Macaulay, *History of England*.

rescinded and there was a feeling that the Duke of York would try this time to push the matter to a finish, for it was well known that he was determined to destroy the man who was master of the West Highlands and whose following among the Presbyterians made him the natural political enemy of a Catholic official. A watch was put upon the King by Argyll's friends to learn what was being determined as the Privy Council reviewed the case. Soon came a messenger who had ridden hard ahead of the King's courier with the news that the sentence had been confirmed and Argyll was to die; in twenty-four hours the regular courier would arrive with the confirmation.

That night Argyll's stepdaughter Sophia waded through the mud and filth of the ill-kept Edinburgh streets to visit him, accompanied by a page to hold up her train and a servant with a lantern. The page and the Earl exchanged garments and after a tearful farewell to the "prisoner," Sophia resolutely walked out at the end of the visiting period with her future father-in-law holding her train.¹⁴ Horses were provided by friends and he was soon in London. Charles, disturbed at the outcry in Scotland over the severe sentence visited upon one of its most distinguished leaders for so debatable an offense, was careful not to look for him too vigorously. The fugitive was safe as long as he remained in hiding.

Then came plot and counterplot which had as its purpose the assassination of Charles and James. Archibald Campbell was not taken into the full confidence of the conspirators for there was a plan on foot among his friends to have him par-

¹⁴ Anyone who might feel that walking past the guards was an improbable possibility should remember that in those days lights were dim. Kerosene was unknown, and lanterns were without glass chimneys. A lantern was a can punched full of small holes large enough, it was hoped, to let the light out but small enough to prevent a draft that would blow out the candle. As a result the illumination given off was only a minor fraction of one candle power.

doned and restored to his place in Argyllshire if he would consent to give up his hereditary offices in the government. The English conspirators plotting against the King feared he might accept this compromise and swear renewed allegiance to the King, switching from the anti-Charles party to a position where he would be in duty bound to turn "state's evidence." He was approached however, with a proposal to lead a revolution in Scotland while Monmouth led the Protestants of England in a similar uprising. Argyll agreed to support the uprising if sufficient money could be found to finance it. Various factions were drawn to the enterprise and it promised well, but in September 1682 the undertaking became noised about the city, the King's men began asking questions, and Argyll found the place too hot for comfort. He fled to Holland without having done more than talk revolution.

In June of the following year (1683) the Rye House plot to kill the King as he returned from the races exploded in the hands of the plotters and another procession to the scaffold was instituted. Rumbold, the leader, however, escaped to the Continent. Campbell's earlier connection with the conspirators became known but he was beyond reach. He was living quietly in Holland on a small estate which had been foresightedly purchased by his father with such a contingency in view. Hugh Campbell of Cessnock was tried but acquitted when the witnesses against him failed to testify.

For two and a half years Archibald Campbell was an exile. He visited Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht, where he met other exiles and discussed the news from home. There was plenty to discuss, including the misery of the common people who were herded into groups by the horse and foot soldiers of the army and made to swear to support King James II, who had come to the throne upon the death of Charles II, February 6, 1685. James was more severe with the Protestants than his brother had been and his soldiers were

ruthless in their demands on the common people of Scotland.

Bad news came out of Inveraray. John Murray, Marquis of Athol, had been given ownership of the Campbell holdings and had taken them over. The garrison of an enemy clan was at last set down squarely in the heart of the Campbell country and no Campbell leader could sleep peacefully with such a load on his heart and mind. A plot was at once formulated for the invasion of Scotland by Argyll and of England by Monmouth—each to lead an uprising in his portion of the island.

It is not possible here to go into all the details of the two campaigns and the train of disasters that followed. Macaulay¹⁵ devotes about a hundred and fifty pages to the subject in his *History of England* and Willcock also tells the story of the campaign in great detail in *A Scots' Earl*. To them we relinquish the detailed account of the bickerings that arose in Argyll's force; the disastrous maneuvering on land and sea, and the final capture and execution of Argyll and Monmouth.

Both attempts ended in complete failure. Argyll was guilty of agreeing to place the management of his expedition in the hands of a committee, which was to decide by vote the time and place of landing, and even dictate the plan of battle except in case of surprise or other emergency. It is plain that Archibald Campbell was so homesick for his own country that he lost all perspective or he would never have consented to undertake a military operation with such a handicap. He

¹⁵ Of Archibald Campbell at the time of his exile in Holland, Macaulay says:

"Though proscribed and a fugitive, he was still in some sense the most powerful subject in the British dominions. . . . His patriarchal authority, an authority which no wealth could give and no attainder take away, made him as leader of an insurrection truly formidable. No southern lord could feel any confidence, that if he ventured to resist the government even his own game keepers and huntsmen would stand by him. . . . MacCallum More, penniless and deprived of his earldom, might at any moment raise a serious civil war."

must have known that a debating society in the top command is almost sure to lose its battles and in this case such a loss meant sure death for the leaders. But Argyll agreed to move into the Campbell country and raise a force among his friends and relatives; and he did this without being assigned full leadership of the expedition.

Trouble was encountered from the very first. Word of what was afoot was carried to King James who immediately protested to the Dutch. The burghers of Amsterdam, however, were favorable to Argyll and turned a deaf ear and a blind eye to what was going on. They blandly informed the English that the letter of protest said the ships lay in the Texel and they saw no ships in the Texel (actually the ships lay in the Vlie). Protestant William of Orange, desiring as much embarrassment as possible for his Catholic father-in-law, James II, sent a sum of money to aid the expedition, and by the time the English had corrected the technical error in their letter of notification the ships were neither in the Texel nor the Vlie; they had sailed.

The tiny fleet was befogged at the Orkneys and two men sent ashore to get a pilot were captured. After three days spent in argument with the Bishop and in threats to attack Kirkwall if the captives were not returned, it became evident that they were not to be released, so the expedition sent a force ashore and took some captives of its own. The ships then sailed on, having by this interlude given full warning to the King's forces of the direction the expedition was taking; a warning that was put to good use, for while Campbell's leaders argued the King's army used the extra three days in marching to the defense of the west coast of Scotland.

At Dunstaffnage, where the next landing was made, it became evident that the conspirators had misjudged the political situation in the west country. Argyll's son Charles found the clansmen unwilling to take up arms in support of the expedi-

tion, and many of the leaders absented themselves to avoid the issue. Conditions under their new rulers were not of the best but better than they would be if they lost a civil war. Archibald found to his sorrow, as has many another exiled leader, that his countrymen were not willing to risk life and limb to restore the old order even though they might have a deep sentimental regard for a former chief. The Campbells of Islay were under Hugh Campbell of the Cawdor branch and, because they had their charter direct from the Crown, were not under the orders of the Earl. They refused to join the expedition, though they replied in a friendly manner, as became members of the family.

The expedition thereupon sailed to Campbeltown at the tip of Kintyre and there the fiery cross was sent through the Clan Campbell. This symbol was the sternest call that could be addressed to Highland people. By tradition they should have hastened at once to the aid of their chief. Again he was disappointed, for a force of only eighteen hundred men appeared.

Then came more arguments and delay. Campbell's committee refused to agree to his assignment of officers even among his own people and much time was lost in wrangling, which they could ill afford. It seems hardly possible that a group of men in such danger could be so foolish.

Some of the committee wanted to march into Argyllshire while others were as determined to move into the Lowlands. As a result the army divided, part going each way. Mutiny was near the surface at all times. One subordinate officer, for example, refused to lead a landing party on the ground that he was bound to respect only "reasonable" commands. So another man led the landing, which was successful.

Soon the British Navy was upon them, penning their ships in shallow water near the coast, where the flotilla was captured. The next disaster was the capture of their stores and

ammunition by a British force that landed and marched on Castle Ealan Ghierig, where the invaders had thought every thing safe in the hands of a small contingent of guards. The guards, however, fled when the English approached. From that moment units of the invading forces began to drift homeward, each man thinking of his own neck and making preparations to preserve it; rout became panic, and in the end not over five hundred men were left in the main body that assembled at Kilpatrick on the Clyde near Glasgow. This force was immediately broken up at the direction of the leaders, who advised the men to escape individually as best they could. Hume reached the continent and lived to be Chancellor of Scotland; Cochrane was captured; Rumbold, the best soldier of them all, head of the Rye House plot and a strong supporter of Argyll, was wounded and taken and, being thought about to die, was hurriedly hanged, drawn and quartered.

Argyll tried to escape in the guise of a peasant but the militia barred the way and he was finally captured as he stood in the water at Inchinnan ford,¹⁶ where the streams of the Black Cart and the White Cart meet. Says Luttrell's Diary for June 27, 1685:

"The rebels in Scotland marched toward Sterling and in their way had taken Renfrew, and attempting to passe the river Clyde the King's forces overtook them and dispersed them presently. Argile himself was taken by two of Greinock's servants and a countryman: Rumbold the malster is taken; and one Col. Ayloff and about 200 more are brought prisoners, and the King's forces are in persuit of the rest, who they doubt not to be masters of in a little time. Col. Ayloff after he was taken ript up his own belly with a pen knife, so that his recovery is despaired of."

¹⁶ The man who bore the chief part in the arrest was named Riddell. On this account the whole race of Riddells was during more than a century held in abhorrence by the great Campbell tribe. Within living memory a Riddell who visited a fair in Argyllshire found it necessary to assume a false name." Riddell received 50 pounds reward. Macaulay, *op. cit.*

In these days when a man misjudges public sentiment and is "slaughtered at the ballot box," we often say that he is a man ahead of his time. Certainly Archibald Campbell was such a man. The public opinion which a few years later led to the downfall of James II had not yet crystallized. When it did crystallize, James was sent flying to his refuge at St. Germain, in France, never to return. The blood shed in the expeditions of Argyll and Monmouth hastened the coming of the Prince of Orange to the throne of Britain, but this was small consolation to the friends and families of the two leaders whose heads were off. They were suffering the usual deprivations of the close associates of losers in such affairs.¹⁷

When Archibald Campbell was brought into Edinburgh, a captive, the hangman and his cart were waiting for him at the city gate, but he was given the choice of riding or walking. He replied that he did not care for such a coachman and would walk; and walk he did, with his hands tied behind him, and a guard on either side with loaded muskets and lighted matches in case of an attempted rescue. For the third time Argyll stood accused of treason, and this time the case was no political sham. A Campbell had finally invaded Scotland with an armed force (although a Scottish force, be it remembered, and no enemy nation involved).

He was not tried for the new offense, and this was fortunate for his descendants. Had he gone to trial for actual revolt against the King, of which he was guilty, it would have been no easy matter to get the sentence rescinded and his estates restored to the family. His friends saw to it that he was executed under the previous sentence, which was so flagrantly unjust that it was easily upset some four years later. Thus his

¹⁷ The bloody revenge visited upon the English by Judge Jeffries at that time still is well remembered by the expression "star chamber sessions." Jeffries held his so-called trials in a chamber marked by a star on the door and those who entered had small chance of justice. Star chamber became a term indicating prejudiced hearings.



THE MAIDEN

The Maiden was used in ancient time to remove heads, mainly of criminals guilty under Scottish law of various crimes including robbery, murder, and incest (one man was beheaded for incest thirty years after the crime was committed). The Maiden is now preserved in the Hall of Antiquities in Edinburgh and this picture was taken especially for this book by the staff of that Museum.

Duntroon Castle is another Campbell stronghold that defied the power of the MacDonalds. The March of Duntroon, a famous Scottish air, commemorates an occasion when the MacDonalds backed up. From a distance the ivy-grown wall looks as if it had a hole in it.

Valentine

DUNTROON CASTLE NEAR CRINAN



inheritance was protected for generations of Campbells to come and the leadership of the Clan Campbell saved for the Campbells.

James II went out for blood as soon as the two rebellions broke against the ranks of his well-ordered and well-trained army. He took especial interest in the case of Argyll as representing the Scottish rebellion. He wrote the Privy Council to "take all ways to know from him those things which concern our government most." By this he implied torture, if necessary, to bring implication of others in the plot. But he also ordered Argyll to be executed three days from the receipt of the letter, so there was little time to try to force from him the names of those who had furnished him with money, arms, and information. He died June 30, 1685.

On one of the panels of the House of Commons in London there is a painting entitled "The Last Sleep of Argyll." The subject is a man of considerable age with a skull cap crowning his white hair, who lies sound asleep on his couch while two amazed guards stand regarding him. The painting is historically correct. Argyll took his sentence with utter calmness¹⁸ and, after eating his luncheon on the day of his execution, lay down for his usual nap. When the time came he arose and was taken to the appointed place.

Eight of his friends were allowed to accompany him, some of these being prominent members of the Campbell family. At two o'clock he walked down the hill to the scaffold with a minister on each side and the eight relatives forming a procession. He made a brief speech to the assembled multitude and ended by saying, "I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, prelacy, and all superstition what-

¹⁸ Says James Browne in *History of Scotland*, he was beheaded . . . evincing in his last moments the courage of a Roman, and the fortitude of a martyr," and this from a man who has not hesitated to speak with an unbridled tongue on occasion regarding the shortcomings of the Campbells.

ever," thereby indicating that he died a Presbyterian and not an Episcopalian.

His cap was pulled over his eyes. Says Willcock:

"the cap worn by the Earl of Argyll at his execution is now in the possession of the Earl of Home. . . . It was probably originally white but now is fawn shade, is made of satin in six portions and is lined with linen. A piece of hand-made lace surrounds the edge. The cap is much bespattered with blood stains."

As his father had done on a similar occasion, Archibald prayed briefly and then lifted his hand as a sign to drop the knife of the Maiden. His head was fixed on the Tolbooth on the same spike that had borne his father's; his body was buried at Newbattle Abbey where he was born,¹⁹ but afterward taken up and removed to Kilmun.

¹⁹ Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll, happened to be born at Newbattle Abbey because his aunt, Annabella Campbell, had married the Earl of Lothian eighteen years before. In 1624, five years before Archibald was born, the Earl had been found dead in his bed with his throat cut. The affair may have been suicide or it may have been murder—no final conclusion was ever reached. However, a distant relative on the Douglas side of the family was accused of having an interest in the Countess Annabella and a desire to see her husband out of the way. Her family rallied around her and nothing was ever proved. When her daughter married a kinsman who was made 3rd Earl of Lothian, Countess Annabella moved to the Continent, where she died. Archibald's mother was one of the Campbells who rallied to the support of their kinswoman. She was visiting Annabella when her son was born. See Willcock, *A Scots Earl*.

CHAPTER XIII

The Campbells Arouse the Jacobites and Are Put in the Wrong at Glencoe

THE SANDS of the Stuart Kings were running out. Probably no one in the kingdom was aware how near the end they were. Before the weathered skull of the ninth Earl of Argyll was taken down from the Edinburgh Tolbooth, King James II was gone from his homeland, and never again did a Stuart in direct male line take up the scepter of Great Britain.

From the very beginning of Scottish history the Campbells had been a main prop of the royal family, but now the breaking point had come and war to the death was between them. Two Campbell leaders already were bloody casualties; it was fortunate indeed for the Campbells that the Stuart line came to its end when it did.

It is not true, of course, that the whole royal family of Stuarts disappeared.¹ When the crown passed from the Stuart Kings it went not to another line but to the same family on the female side. William and Mary were both Stuarts; both were grandchildren of Charles I, which made them first cousins, and Mary was also the daughter of James II. Therefore, when William was invited by the anti-Catholic faction to invade England and take the throne by force, the Protestants were not going too far afield in their choice. They were simply offering to trade an arrogant, Catholic Stuart who was quarreling with the majority of his people most of the time for a Protestant Stuart who had a reputation for sound states-

¹ There have been Stuarts holding high public trust in modern times, Rupert of Bavaria, for example.

manship and fair dealing. Fortunately the new sovereign was one with whom the Campbells could get along nicely.

The Campbells had made plenty of trouble for the Stuarts: They had battled against Charles I and "made free with" his son Charles II, who never forgave the man responsible; and they had quarreled with James II when he was in Scotland. As a result of all this, which stemmed back mainly to religious differences, the latter day Stuarts and the Campbells were completely at loggerheads.

"As chief of the race of Diarmid or Clan Campbell, MacCailen Mor ruled over the hearts and wills of his people with a patriarchal sway which, analagous in kind to that exercised by the Lochiels and Glengarrys of the north, was strengthened in the case of the Earl of Argyll by something very like a superstitious faith in the luck or fortune that usually attended the peculiar and subtle genius of the family—ever wise, wary and politic—differing in this respect, as they possibly did in race, from all other Highland tribes. The House of Argyll was thus in fact very formidable."²

But the Stuarts made trouble for themselves faster than they made it for the Campbells. Forgetting their obligation to their people, Charles II and James II had been using their public trust for private gain and had traded the assets of the British Empire for any pretty bauble that chanced to divert them for the moment. Says Macaulay:

"From the time of the Restoration³ to the time of the Revolution, neglect and fraud had been almost constantly impairing the efficiency of every department of the government. Honours and

² *Memoirs of Lady Ann McKenzie—Lindsay.*

³ The "Restoration" is the term used to describe the end of the Cromwellian Commonwealth and the return of a Stuart King to the thrones of England and Scotland in the person of Charles II in 1660. The "Revolution" describes the uprising by which the last Stuart King was deposed in 1688. These twenty-eight years were a time of disorder and uncertainty in Scotland during which the Roman Catholics, the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Covenanters industriously cut each other's throats, literally and figuratively, at every turn.

public trusts, peerages, baronetcies, regiments, frigates, embassies, governments, commissionerships, leases of crown lands, contracts for clothing, for provisions, for ammunition, pardons for murder, for robbery, for arson, were sold at Whitehall scarcely less openly than asparagus at Covent Garden or herrings at Billingsgate. Brokers had been incessantly plying for custom in the purlieu of the court; and of these brokers the most successful had been, in the days of Charles, the harlots, and in the days of James, the priests. From the palace, which was the chief seat of this pestilence, the taint had diffused itself through every office and through every rank in every office, and had everywhere produced feebleness and disorganization."

Divine right to rule or not, King James II was on his way out, but that did not ease matters for the Campbells during the days after the breaking up of Archibald's invading force.

Again the clan suffered the punishment visited upon the losers in a political uprising. After Archibald's execution the Campbell territory was overrun. For thirty miles around Inveraray the country was laid waste. The trees were uprooted, the millstones broken, the houses burned or torn down, the boats burned or stove in, and fishing nets destroyed. Some two dozen young men were executed by the Murrays under the Marquis of Athol, and many sent overseas as slaves, their sale money being used by the government to pay off some one "deserving at its hands."

The Earl's immediate family suffered from the very beginning of the invasion. When word reached the King's forces that the invading expedition had taken prisoners at the Orkney Islands, the family of the Campbell leader was immediately imprisoned and word sent him that his wife and stepdaughters, as hostages, would receive the same treatment as the other prisoners. The Earl's sister, Lady Lothian, was confined in the Castle of Edinburgh while Sophia who had accumulated governmental ill will for her audacity in leading a jail break, was put in confinement in the Tolbooth among

common felons. She was spared, however, the whippings and burnings visited upon others that were guilty of the same offense, and she and the other women in the family were released as soon as the Earl was executed.

The second son, Charles, who had been active in his father's campaign, was tried for treason and found guilty, but his death sentence was commuted to banishment for life.

The eldest son, Archibald, Lord Lorne, the heir to any prospect of estate that might lie in the ruling Campbell family, was in a better position. During the years of his father's exile in Holland, Lorne benefitted from the intercession of Balcarres, his stepbrother, who was strong in the favor of James II and who, in, 1683 had persuaded the King to grant Lorne 800 pounds per year from the income of the Argyll estates.⁴ When news of his father's landing reached him he put himself in the King's hands, and while he was neither confined nor in exile, he was not in good favor.

Duncan Campbell of Auchinbrecht,⁵ husband of Henrietta, the remaining stepdaughter of Argyll, and one of the prime movers of the invasion, escaped to Danzig, where his wife met him after she and her mother had fruitlessly journeyed to London to obtain a pardon for him.

Lady Anna, the Earl's wife, returned to Scotland after her London trip and lived as best she could on an income of 4000 merks a year left to her by her first husband, plus a small grant from Charles II in recognition of the services Balcarres had rendered. The royal grant was never paid in full

⁴ *Scots Peerage*.

⁵ When the occupying forces broke into the house of Duncan Campbell at Auchinbrecht, they destroyed everything, including the charter chest in which the family papers were stored. Four years later Henrietta visited the house and found the papers intact but scattered over the floor of one of the rooms. Some of the other branches of the Campbell family were not so fortunate. Their family records were lost, mutilated, or destroyed by the enemy.

and Lady Anna had some very lean years after the death of her second husband on the scaffold.

The Campbells were now ready for any turn of the wheel that would repair their fortunes. Their only hope lay in a new government; and so, when William of Orange landed in England on November 5, 1688 for the purpose of taking the crown from James II by force, the Campbells were with him in full array. A firsthand report written by a man on the field of battle gives the Campbell family credit for winning the first encounter in the campaign that put William of Orange and his wife Mary on the throne of Great Britain and completely destroyed any hope for the Stuarts of the James line. Says Whittle in his *Exact Diary of the Late Expedition*:

“A Lieutenant having his Post at this Town with about four and twenty soldiers . . . learning that a party of horse belonging to the late King James were posting thither he was so magnanimous as to resolve to fight them. . . . The enemies being advanced within musket shot the soldiers would have fired upon them but the Lieutenant whose name was Cambel not knowing whether they be friends or foes would not permit. . . . Our officer first gave the word saying “Stand, stand, for who are ye?” to which the Enemies Officer at the head of the Horse, answered “I am for King James, who art thou for?” To which our officer replied, “I am for the Prince of Orange.” “God damn me” says the Enemies Officer, “I will Prince thee.” Whereupon our officer said “Fire” and went boldly up to this Popish officer and shot him in at his mouth and through his Brains and so he dropped down dead. Our soldiers firing at them through the hedges on each side mauled them desperately and killed several of them.”

Who this “Lieutenant Cambel” was is probably lost forever in the obscurity of the poorly kept records of the invasion. In this final struggle between the House of Stuart and the Campbells, when one side or other had to go down to destruction, the latter drew first blood, and as it turned out, the omen was good; the Campbells were with the side that drew the last.

With the help of the Protestants of England, including John Churchill,⁶ who was then just beginning his rise to the military heights he afterward attained as Duke of Marlborough, William dispersed the forces of James II and was declared King of England, while Mary, his wife, was made Queen. Prominent on his side were three regiments of Scottish soldiers which had accompanied him from Holland, and various interested individuals who were in the bad books of King James and therefore emphatically of the opinion that it was time for a change. Duncan Campbell of Auchinbrecht and Archibald Campbell, heir to the Campbell estates in Argyllshire, were among these supporters.

As soon as William and Mary were safe on the English throne, Archibald Campbell returned to Scotland, where a Convention of the Estates was in session to consider the attitude that Scotland should take toward the Revolution. In spite of the loss of his estates through his father's defeat, he was immediately seated in Parliament and accepted as Earl of Argyll—although by the strict letter of the law the title was not yet his. He helped lead the discussion which resulted in the official declaration that James II had forfeited the allegiance of his subjects. The same convention adopted a resolution abolishing prelacy and thus again established legally in

⁶ The career of John Churchill during the reign of Charles II and James II, and the part he played in the affairs of William and Mary has led to much discussion. It is true that in his early twenties he was the "boy friend" of the thirty-five-year-old Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland, mistress of Charles II, and received from her funds she collected from her royal paramour. His sister, Arabella Churchill, was mistress of James II and by him had a 'Train of Bastards.' Churchill was deep in the palace intrigues of the Stuarts and deeply indebted to their regime. See Winston Churchill, *op. cit.*

The future Duke of Marlboro and the future Duke of Argyll were together in the overthrow of James II, and the Churchills are found side by side with the Campbells on the pages of history for many a long year thereafter.

Scotland the worship of God under the Solemn League and Covenant.

With James II deposed, Scotland was without a king, whereupon a committee consisting of Archibald Campbell, Sir James Montgomery and Sir John Dalrymple was appointed to wait upon the new sovereigns of England and request their acceptance of the throne of Scotland. On May 11, 1689 Archibald Campbell stood before William and Mary in the Banqueting House in London and in the presence of an assembled multitude of Scottish and English leaders administered the coronation oath which made them rulers of Scotland. Thus the grandson of the man who had helped crown Charles I officiated in the usurpation of that crown by the grandson of Charles himself.

But this success of Archibald was his greatest handicap so far as his Highland neighbors were concerned. All the fear and hatred that near-by clans had borne against the Campbells was revived. Political fortune had again placed the Campbells high in the councils of the dominant party and the neighbors of the clan foresaw another round of legalized warfare against them led by holders of the King's Commission. Neighbors who had looked forward to the day when, under the rule of James II, the very name of Campbell would be persecuted, as the name MacGregor had been in the past, were now faced with the return of this family to power. The Catholic Highlanders knew they would be looked upon as fair game by the Covenanters of Scotland and they feared the Protestant Campbells would be in the forefront, with added incentive for revenge. Thus was the Highland Jacobite⁷ party recruited, not so much from those who loved the lost King James as from those who feared the revenge of the new King William, the revived Campbells, and their friends.

⁷From Jacobus, the Latin form of James. Hence a name for the supporters of James and his descendants.

A meeting of the clans opposed to the Campbells was called to consider the situation. The MacDonalds, with Campbell loot still hidden, were foremost among the dissenters to the new dispensation. The Stewarts of Appin,⁸ caught between the sea and the Campbells, joined the MacDonalds, as did the MacLeans and the MacNaughtens. Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, who had been fostered in his youth by Argyll and who held his territory subject to homage to the Campbell Chief, led half a a thousand Camerons to the meeting. The chance for freedom from his vassalage was too good to lose.

The Murrays, one of the most powerful clans in Scotland since the Campbell debacle, were naturally expected to join the Jacobites for they owed James II all possible gratitude for the opportunity for gain he had given the Marquis of Atholl (John Murray), when he sent him to put down the rebellious Campbells and rob their territory. Atholl, however, disturbed at the turn of events, wavered in the attempt to make up his mind as to which side would win. Finally he went to the English city of Bath, for a vacation, while his subordinates attempted to solve the political problem he had left behind. As might be expected by any one familiar with Highland nature, the result was a quarrel which led one part of the Murray clan to besiege another part in the family castle. In the end one faction of Murrays fought on the side of the Jacobites; another joined with the Campbells in support of William, while a third looked peacefully on with the hope of picking up a bit of loot here and there from the debris of battle.

In addition to the Highlanders under the banner of James II, a group of about three hundred Irish arrived from Ireland.

This gathering could be only the forerunner of war. How the handful of Highlanders expected to win against a force

⁸The Stewarts of Appin were descended from "a natural sone of Stewart, a Prince of the Blood Royall, but begott on a lady of distinction. . . . All the Stewarts of that countrey are one way or another descended of his family." *Memoires* of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel.

that had completely overcome opposition in England is difficult to understand, but where sentiment is concerned, Highland men never stop to weigh too heavily the chances of victory. Their system always was to go in with both hands swinging and hope for the best.

The Jacobites voted to declare for James II and placed themselves under the command of John Graham, Viscount Dundee, who had been appointed by James at the very end of his reign as Commander of the Jacobite forces in Scotland. The opposing forces were under Major General Hugh Mackay and the Earl of Argyll. Mackay hastened northward with about three thousand English and Scottish soldiers drawn from William's army and such Lowlanders as could be assembled.

The Campbells were a disappointment. Argyll had found his people dispersed and disheartened, and though he had permission from the Crown to raise a regiment of six hundred foot, he could not assemble it in time to fight against the Jacobites at Killiecrankie.⁹

The battle was fought July 27, 1689 in a little valley at the head of Killiecrankie Pass. Probably the most vivid account of it has come down to us from Donald M'Bane and is found in the memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron. Donald was a tobacco spinner who had become dissatisfied with affairs at home because he found himself "scrimpted of his commons" by his mistress. He enlisted in MacKenzie of Suddy's corps, and upon coming in sight of the Highlanders "wished he had been spinning tobacco." He says:

"The Macdonalds came down the hill upon us without either shoe, stocking or bonnet on their heads; they gave a great shout, and then the fire began on both sides and continued hot dispute for an hour. Then they broke in upon us with their sword and

⁹ The regiment was raised later and called Argyll's Regiment of Foot. A part of it participated in the Glencoe massacre of 1692. It later served in Flanders and was disbanded after the peace of Ryswick.

target, and Lochaber axes, which obliged us to give way. Seeing my Captain was sore wounded, and a great many more with their heads lying cloven on every side, I was sadly affrighted, never having seen the like before. A Highlandman attacked me with sword and targe, and cut my wooden handled bayonet out of the muzzle of my gun; I then clubbed my gun, and gave him a stroke with it which made the butt end to fly off. Seeing the Highlandmen to come fast upon me, I took to my heels, and ran thirty miles before I looked behind me. Every person I saw or met I took him for my enemy."

But the baggage train was too much for the Highlanders. With typical disregard for orderly military procedure they pounced upon the spoil and, while they looted, a strong Whig remnant got away to fight another day—a winning fight for them, by the way, for although the Jacobites won the battle, they lost the war at Killiecrankie.

Dundee was killed in the last minutes of the fight, and none other among them could hold together the explosive ingredients of an army made up of various groups of Highlanders. The Gordons, who had been holding the Castle at Edinburgh for the Jacobites, had already surrendered and all was quiet in the east.¹⁰ Within four weeks after the overwhelming victory of the Jacobite forces at the pass, the Highlanders found themselves unable to agree with their new leaders and dispersed. The first Jacobite rising was over and although the fires of rebellion still smoldered, the forces of William and Mary were supreme in Scotland.

The action taken by King William against the Highlanders following this campaign was not in keeping with his usual tolerant attitude toward Jacobite adherents. In the light of

¹⁰ Gordon traded the surrender of the castle for return of his lands and a pardon for his family. Later he visited the court of William but was ill received. He went to France, where James II was also cold to him. He was imprisoned in Switzerland, returned to Scotland via Holland, and spent much time in jail. Both parties felt he had been disloyal to them. See Mackay.

larger affairs this is not hard to understand. The Killiecrankie battle evidently hurt his pride. Furthermore, he was engaged in important military affairs on the Continent (The Dutch War against the French) and any disturbance in his rear was sure to be disconcerting. As a result he showed a severity rare in his reign. A new minister was sent to represent him in Scotland in the person of John Dalrymple, whose father was Viscount of Stair. The son, who carried the title of Master of Stair, undoubtedly went to his task with injunctions to maintain order and root out the evils of the Stuart rule with a strong hand.

The Campbells of Glenorchy (Breadalbane) now became prominent in the unsettled affairs of the times. Their great estates lay in Perthshire, where the leader had built the castle of Balloch on the present site of the famous Castle of Taymouth.

When Sir John Campbell, Bart, and tenth Laird of Glenorchy, died, he left to his son John the headship of this branch of the Campbells. The new leader had not been idle while waiting for his patrimony but had made considerable additions to his fortune on his own account, which was characteristic of him throughout his whole eighty-odd years. This John, who became first Earl of Breadalbane, had always an eye on the main chance.

In the year 1672 he was the main creditor of George Sinclair, sixth Earl of Caithness, who had become insolvent. An agreement was made whereby Sir John took over Sinclair's estates, titles, and heritable jurisdictions in return for clearing him of his load of debt, with the additional stipulation that for their natural lives the Sinclairs, husband and wife, should receive an aliment (allowance for maintenance) of 12,000 merks per year. The Earl had no children and no close heirs, and Sir John Campbell became Earl of Caithness without protests from anyone. In 1677 Charles II gave him a new

grant to correct certain imperfections in the title and that year, Sinclair having died, John Campbell married his widow; "Saving," says the *Scots Peerage*, "by this economical step the alimentary allowance of 12,000 merks."

About this time the Sinclair clan, under the leadership of a nephew of the dead Earl, disputed the rights of Sir John Campbell in the territory and the latter invaded it to enforce them. On this historic occasion the well-known song "the Campbells are Coming" was played for the first time.¹¹ The Campbells won this fight with a bloody victory at Wick and came into undisputed control of the Sinclair holdings, but the Sinclairs took their case to the Scottish government, which held for the Sinclair heir. The loss was not too deeply felt by the Campbells, however, for on August 13, 1681 Sir John secured for himself a patent making him Earl of Brae D'Albane and Holland, Viscount of Tay and Paintland, Lord Glenorchy, Benederaloch, Ormelie and Weick, which reimbursed him for the loss of the Sinclair holdings and established the Campbells of Breadalbane in their right and title.

The first Earl of Breadalbane, historians agree, could not be trusted in matters of money, religion, or personal honor if they interfered with the progress of his family toward larger estates and greater power. He was constitutionally for the Campbells and against everybody else.¹²

¹¹ *Scots Peerage*.

¹² Princess Sophia commissioned one John Macky to prepare an appraisal of the leaders of Scotland and England. His communication she acknowledged October 16, 1703 from the Lutzburg Palace belonging to the King of Prussia and situated about a league from Berlin. Concerning Breadalbane he said:

"He is cunning as a Fox, wise as a Serpent, but slippery as an Eel: no government can trust him but where his own private interest is in view. After King William, by an Army, had endeavored with great expense to reduce the Highlands of Scotland in vain, this Gentleman undertook it singly with Ten Thousand Pounds; and effected it in such a manner as to get thanks from King James for saving his people whom he (James) could not succor. Breadalbane also was rewarded by King William for his serv-

However, King William wanted peace in the Highlands and the Campbells had always had the reputation of being willing to insure peace in their part of the country, even if they had to fight to get it. Breadalbane, with 1700 claymores at his back was a worthy ally, especially since he had married Mary Campbell, his second wife and the third daughter of the Marquis of Argyll; he was thus very close to the senior branch of the clan. As a result, when the King decided to try to buy off the rebellious clans, the Earl of Breadalbane was commissioned to divide the money and negotiate such peace terms as he could.

The clan leaders met at Achallader and each wanted more than his share of the money. None of them trusted Breadalbane to make a fair division, but an agreement was finally reached and the following terms set down:

1. The revolting clans were to have the right to send an emissary to James II in France and ask his permission to submit to William and Mary.
2. A total of 20,000 pounds was to be distributed among the Highlanders¹³ so that they could live without robbing the Lowlands.
3. The King was to free the clans from vassalage to their neighbors.
4. The King was to transport such as wished it to France where they might go into foreign service.
5. No oaths were to be put to the Highlanders except a simple oath of allegiance.

ice. He plays the same game with the Williamites as he did with the Jacobites; always on the side he can get most by; and will get all he can of both. He is of fair complexion, has the gravity of a Spaniard and is now past 60 years old." *Memoirs of the Secret Service of John Macky*.

¹³No one knows to this day how much money actually was put into the hands of Breadalbane nor how it was divided. When the Earl of Nottingham called for an accounting of the money at a later date, Breadalbane replied:

"My Lord, the Highlands are quiet: the money is spent; and this is the best way of accounting among friends.'" See Jesse, *Court of England*, p. 119.

This treaty was sent to King William, with a letter stating under the head of "private articles," that Breadalbane had entered into a private agreement (perhaps verbal) voiding the treaty in case of invasion from abroad. It covered certain other points as well and declared "that if King William and Queen Mary doe deny all or any of the Articles agreed on, then my Lord Breadalbane is to joyn us with 1,000 men; which he promised to perform on oath and honor."

The King agreed to the arrangement and two men were sent to France to consult with James II.¹⁴ In August 1691 William proclaimed a general amnesty for all those who would take the oath of allegiance to him prior to January 1, 1692. This setting of a date was looked upon as forcing a decision before James could be heard from and, as a result, none of the chiefs took the oath until late in December when a letter from James arrived advising them to submit. Upon this each one of them proceeded to his particular sheriff or deputy and swore allegiance to William—all except one, that is, who failed to reach the Sheriff of Argyllshire till several days after the first of January. This unfortunate man was MacIan, head of the MacDonalds of Glencoe, who thereby made for himself a place in history and set in motion a train of events that has been used to blacken the Campbell reputation for over two and a half centuries. Because MacDonald of Glencoe was a few days late in taking his oath of allegiance, every one from the King down decided that the MacDonalds should be taught a lesson. It is hard to understand why King William should have permitted himself to become a party to such a procedure since the oath had been taken as prescribed except for the time element, and there was reason to believe that MacIan would be as loyal as any other Highlander. However, Dalrymple wrote by their Majesties' command from Kensington

¹⁴ They were Brigadier General George Barclay and Major Duncan Menzies.

on January 12, 1692, "We consider it indispensible for the well of our Kingdom to apply the severities of law."¹⁵ The next step was the ordering of troops into the MacDonald country. A force of Campbells under the command of Robert Campbell moved into Glencoe and were met by the MacDonalds who were assured that the troops came in peace and not in war. For eleven days the Campbells were quartered in the valley, eating the food and sharing the roofs of their ancient enemies.

Then one evening an order arrived from the army command:

Ballacholis

Feb. 12, 1692

Sir:

You are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels, the MacDonalds of Glencoe, and put all to the sword under 70. You are to have especial care, that the Old Fox and his Sons do upon no account escape your Hands, you are to secure all the avenues that no man escape: this you are to put in Execution at five a Clock in the Morning precisely, and by that time or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party. If I do not come at five, you are not to tarry for me but fall on. This is by the King's SPECIAL COMMAND, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants may be cut off root and branch. See that this be put in execution without Feud or Favor, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the King or Government nor a man fit to carry Commission in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof as you love yourself, I subscribed these with my hand,

Robert Duncannon

For their Majesties Service.

To Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon

¹⁵ Dalrymple also wrote that the design was to "destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarys, Appine and Glencoe—I hope the souldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners."

It is evident from the context that this order reached the Campbells at night and that there was to be no shrinking from duty at five o'clock the next morning, if they themselves were to escape punishment.

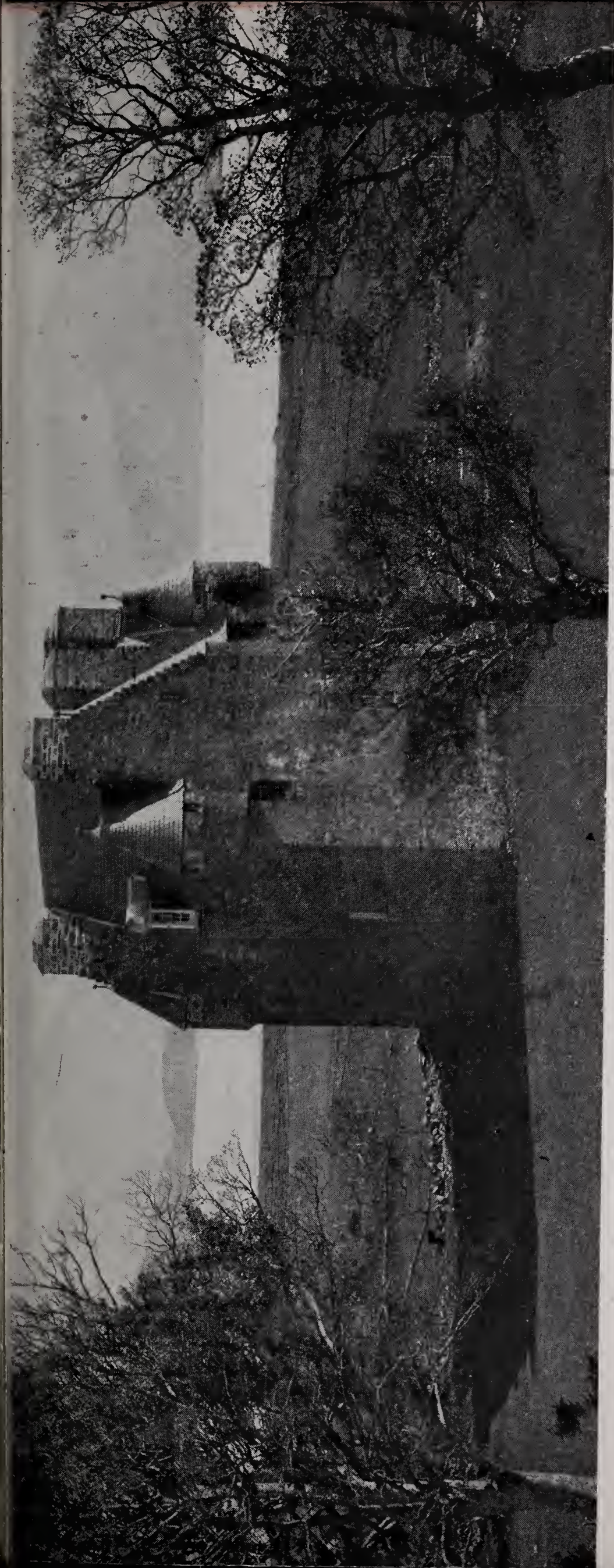
The dark deed was done as ordered, that is, the massacre was carried out in part, but the hearts of the Campbells failed them a bit at the last and only about thirty men, four women, and a child or two were killed. Others perished in flight through the mountains.

After the survivors had fled, the Campbells burned all the houses and carried off nine hundred cows, two hundred horses, herds of sheep and goats, and all else of value that could be found.¹⁶ The land of Glencoe was left completely destitute.

Much capital was made of this incident by the Jacobites and other enemies of the King and the Campbells. Ream after ream of paper was printed to carry the story of this so-called Campbell treachery to the world. Never was a Highland ambush given such complete publicity, although hundreds of such slayings had been perpetrated year by year since time immemorial and the Campbells themselves had been subjected to just such slaying and burning not long before, when the MacDonalds came down upon Inveraray and left the people there fit subjects for charity.

The story will not die, however. All seem to have forgotten that the Campbells who acted at Glencoe were enrolled in the King's army and subject to the orders of their superior officers, which in this case were written out and signed. Even with the threat of punishment over them the Campbells acted not too eagerly, for it is stated in Ewen Cameron's *Memoirs* that two officers of the expedition "refused to be concerned in the murder and were for this disobedience sent prisoners to Glasgow and were long confined." It would seem that as a

¹⁶ Ewen Cameron, *Memoirs*.



BARCALDINE CASTLE — WESTERN OUTPOST OF THE CAMPBELLS

Valentine

The Campbell governor of Barcaldine Castle was always, by inheritance, one of the foremost lieutenants of the Earl of Breadalbane. His was the task of holding the western marches for the family, just as Campbell of Achalledar had the responsibility in the east.

One of the most notable murder cases in the Highlands took place in 1682, when a Stewart of Appin ambushed Campbell of Glenure, a member of this Campbell branch, and shot him, in a quarrel over certain tenant rights claimed by the Stewarts. The leader of the Stewarts was accused. The trial, which was held at Inveraray, was presided over by Archibald Campbell, Chancellor of Scotland, and eight of jury were Campbells. Stewart was found guilty, hanged in chains and his body left dangling. Several years later his bones were secretly gathered and buried by the Stewarts. There is more than a suspicion that the wrong Stewart was hanged.

After the active tenure of the Campbells ceased, this castle was used as a summer home for a number of years by the family of Brigadier General A. D. Buchanan-Smith. His mother once told the writer that the secret stair common to Scottish castles is to be found in Barcaldine. "But," she said, "it comes out in the bathroom."

whole the Campbells did only enough to save going against the wall themselves.

It has been claimed that Argyll and Breadalbane helped hatch the plot, which may well be. The smell of smoke from the Campbell homes fired by the MacDonalds would be the best incentive in the world for just such plotting. Highland nature being what it is, we have no doubt the Campbell leaders were glad to see some throats cut in Glencoe in return for the blood let at Inveraray and in the Valley of the Tay; and while there is great lack of Christian spirit in such action, it is characteristic of the times and the people involved.

Probably the best appraisal of the casual manner in which the affair was regarded in Scotland lies in the fact that when Parliament met, the Glencoe incident was not even mentioned. There was a discussion of the disorderly state of the Highlands and a law was passed to discourage depredations on the Lowlands but nothing was said about the Glencoe killings.

A law was passed restoring the leader of the Argyll Campbells to his ancient and honorable hereditary jurisdictions, whereby he again became keeper of the peace in the west country and, "the Estates separated quietly after a session of two months, during which, as far as can now be discovered, the name Glencoe was not once uttered in the Parliament House."¹⁷

By 1695 however, under the prodding of the Jacobites, the affair at Glencoe began to excite wider comment and Breadalbane was thrown into jail for a time, but was found innocent and released. A commission was established which examined witnesses from the clans, reviewed the correspondence of the officials involved and came to the conclusion that:

"The slaughter of Glencoe was a barbarous murder and that

¹⁷ Macaulay, *op. cit.*

of this murder the letters of the Master of Stair were the sole warrant and cause.”¹⁸

But the man responsible for the crime was never punished; for once William of Orange failed to see justice done. In time the part played by the officials was forgotten. All that was remembered was that the MacDonalds were killed and the Campbells did the killing. The Campbells bore the blame and the Jacobites long dead and gone had their full revenge. Like the albatross of the Ancient Mariner the Massacre of Glencoe still hangs around the Campbell neck; and probably till the end of time they will carry the blame which was unloaded upon them by the clever work of all the others concerned, both their friends and their enemies.¹⁹

¹⁸ Macaulay, *History of England*.

¹⁹ The Jacobites had all the best of it from the standpoint of the writers of that day. There is something about an exiled Pretender that excites the sympathy of poets, songwriters, and story tellers and the Stuart enemies were put in the wrong whenever possible. The following is a good example of what the poets did for them:

Ye Campbells, ye Johnstones, by yourselves you're a sect;
You're false robbers and thieves, non should you protect.
From God and from Caesar you remove all respect,
Your slughorns are falsehood and plunder.
In such a hurray of rogues Argyle may come in,
Whose blood bears the stain of originall sin;
And if he is like to go on, as they did begin,
Then he'll follow the fate of his grandsires.

Scottish Pasquiles, II 67. (Quoted in *Argyle Papers*).

CHAPTER XIV

Campbell the Kingmaker

WHEN THE TOAST, "to the King," is drunk in the British Isles it is a tribute to the ruler of the Empire; that is, if it is downed with no mental reservations and no shenanigans. If however, in days gone by, the toaster was of a mind to prefer the House of Stuart to the Royal Houses of Hanover or Windsor, he would hold his glass over his finger bowl or water glass as he said, "to the King," and the toast then became "to the King *over the water*." Because of this subterfuge there were no finger bowls upon the royal dinner table for a full two hundred years after King James II fled *over the water* of the English channel to his exile in France.

In Scotland, especially among the Catholic clans, the sentiment of the great majority was high for James. The Campbells, however, were generally against him. In the minor wars fought as a result of Jacobite uprisings in Scotland some of the family branches were Jacobites, but the Argyll Campbells were always on the side of the reigning monarch.

Archibald Campbell, who became the first Duke of Argyll, was born while his father was held prisoner in Edinburgh Castle by the Commonwealth forces under Cromwell. The date of his birth is not preserved, but the Canongate Register¹ shows that he was baptized July 25, 1658. His father was released from confinement in July of the following year, so it is likely that young Archibald spent a considerable part of the first twelve months of his life in jail where the Earl's family was allowed to be with him.

¹ John Willcock, *A Scots Earl*.

Assuming that Archibald was born in 1658 he was twenty years old when he married Elizabeth Talmash (spelled also Tollemache), daughter of the Countess Dysart, who also held the title of Duchess of Lauderdale. Archibald was thirty years old when he risked his neck and the whole future of the Argyll Campbells upon the success of the invasion of England by William of Orange. There can be no doubt of the weeping and wailing that would have prevailed in the West Highlands had William been defeated by James II. The deposed Stuart King would have been ruthless in his revenge, if his later letters and proclamations from St. Germain, are to be taken as any indication. Even in exile,² James II breathed fire and brimstone, and his desire to destroy the Campbells upon his return to power would have been ably seconded by the MacDonalds, Murrays, MacKenzies and other Highlanders.

After the Scottish Parliament of 1689 restored to the Earl the estates of his father, a patent signed by King William at Kensington, June 3, 1701, advanced him to the dignities of Duke of Argyll, Marquess of Kintyre and Lorne, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Viscount of Lochow and Glenila, Lord Inveraray, Mull, Morven and Tiry,³ with remainder to his heirs male. Certainly no one can complain of this fine recognition given the man who led the fight for King William and helped place him on the throne.

The first Duke of Argyll was a born gambler. A part of his financial embarrassment was due to the interest he took in the Darien expedition, an ill-fated venture which left many a family in Scotland bereft of money and, in some cases, of relatives and friends. The Campbells lost plenty of both.

In 1695 the Scottish Parliament had passed an act authorizing the formation of a company to trade in Africa and the Indies. With visions of wealth flowing in from overseas, the subscrip-

² Luttrell's *Diary*, August 3, 1689.

³ *Scots Peerage*.

tion lists were filled almost immediately. Among the subscribers were the Earl of Argyll for 1500 pounds; his brother, James Campbell, 900 pounds; Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlass, 500 pounds; Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchill, one of the senators of the College of Justice, 500 pounds; Mungo Campbell of Burbank, 400 pounds; Gilbert Campbell, son of Colin Campbell of Soutar House, who subscribed 400 pounds in February 1699, and then in March added 200 pounds to his subscription and in May 300 pounds more; Thomas Campbell, a flesher in Edinburgh, 200 pounds; Patrick Campbell, writer in Edinburgh, 100 pounds, and several other Campbells who in no case took less than a 100-pound subscription.

The site for the new colony was selected in the district of Darien on the east coast of what is now the Republic of Panama. The Spaniards had already settled to the north and south of this area and were certain to regard the newcomers with small favor. In November 1698 about 1200 Scottish settlers arrived with the avowed purpose of extending their rule to the Pacific and establish free trade across the isthmus. Sickness, lack of provisions, poor organization, and Spanish opposition caused such suffering that in June 1699 the Scots re-embarked for home. Others were on the way out, but fared no better upon arrival at the colony.

On October 10, 1699, Captain Alexander Campbell of Fonab was appointed "to have chief and supreme command both by sea and land of all ships, men, forts, settlements, lands, possessions and others whatsoever belonging to said company in any part or parts of America."⁴ He was instructed to retake the lost territory if possible. If not, then to establish a colony near the original site. Campbell was an experienced soldier and the men under him had served in Flanders under his command. With proper support he should have succeeded.

⁴ *Darien Papers*.

The attempt failed. About all that occurred of note was the hanging of a man named Campbell December 20, 1699 he being "lybelled of plotting mutiny and villanous designe of murther."⁵ A careful reading of the proceedings of the court martial would indicate that the unfortunate Campbell was mostly guilty of wanting to get away from the colony to Jamaica, and when things moved too slowly to suit him, he talked too much.

Alexander Campbell succeeded in making a surprise attack on the Spanish forces and all promised well. In the end however, King William III disowned the colony, the Spaniards prevailed, and an attempt was made to return the colonists to Scotland. Only a few arrived there, however. The people were dead, the money was gone, and all that the Campbells realized on the investment were heartaches, experience, and a shortage of ready money which the Duke could ill afford.⁶

His Grace, Archibald Campbell, died September 28, 1703, after having served as Privy Councilor, Commissioner of the Treasury, Extraordinary Lord of the Session, and Colonel of the Scottish troop of Horse Guards. Archibald Campbell, says Robert Myln in his *Genealogical Collections*:⁷

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Another wild colonizing scheme for the New World, known as the Mississippi Bubble, was evolved in France by John Law, comptroller-general of that country. This was combined with unsound economic thinking in the internal finances of France, which went to the extent of prohibiting private holding of specie or bullion all of which had to be surrendered to the government. John Law's mother was a Campbell, and in the days when he was being hailed as the world's foremost financial thinker, the House of Argyll was only too glad to claim him as a relative. Says John Hill Burton, in *The Scot Abroad*:

"Law gave blandly condescending reception to his countryman the Duke of Argyll; but the Duke was a mere provincial respectability beside the triumphant comptroller-general, and he knew it."

When Law's Bubble burst (1720) the resulting crash rocked the country and John Law is remembered even today as the epitome of fanciful financial leadership.

⁷ *Argyll Papers*.

“exceedit most of his fellow creatures in his amoures, but [sic] was affable and easy of access.”

As a result of his “amoures,” says the same authority, he did not cohabit with his lady for many years. There was however, no dearth of feminine companionship, for the Duke set up an establishment in Northern England and took as mistress a Mrs. Allison to whom he conveyed all of his English property including his estate at Chirton, near the town of Shields, at the mouth of the Tyne River. On his deathbed the Duke apparently had fears of the very thing that came to pass, for he called into his presence all who were available, including the doctor, and told them it was his dying wish that his mistress be undisturbed in her possession of his English estate.

His instructions were ignored. No sooner was Lady Campbell informed of her husband’s death than she wrote to a Mr. James Anderson in the city of Newcastle, near Shields, urging immediate action to recover all property and telling him among other things:

“If it were needful, you might lett the slut known my son in a few days will be at Chirton but I hope the Jeal (jail) will be her apartment before that time.”⁸

The controversy which started with such an unmannerly display of temper and name-calling by folks in high places was continued by the son and his representatives who:

“Got out of the Spiritual Court three severall citations against Mrs. Allison, one of which was nailed just over against where his corps lay, which might with as much decency been nailed to his coffine; and since then an excommunication, which imports nothing but to declare abundance of malice, and that you are affraid that my Lord Duke’s failing should be forgott too soon.”⁹

A letter written by a friend of the Campbells from Chirton,

⁸ *Argyll Papers.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

November 19, 1703, advises that "Mrs. Allison will be excommunicated in our church next Sunday where I shall not fail to attend with God's help."

There is no need to go further into the details of the family squabble between the legitimate heirs and those with lesser claim, except to say that Mrs. Allison seems to have come off second-best for the inventories of livestock disposed of tell us that at least a part of the estate went to Scotland. These lists show what the Duke considered a desirable establishment, even though a secondary one. The inventory follows:

Sent to Scotland 21 horses value £321
 Sold in England 17 horses value £87
 In Stable at Chirton 14 horses and colts value £120
 On Grass at Chirton 15 horses Value £208
 Sent to Scotland 60 sheep Value £30
 Sent to Scotland 17 cows and 50 hounds (old and young)

Some of the Duke's friends loaded his yacht with whatever came handy and sailed for Scotland. The vessel foundered with the loss of all on board, the only part of the loss bewailed by his wife. A year later, in October 1704, we find notice that she was being sued by the former Duke's creditors in England "not only for the Chirton estate, but for the goods and things she took hence and were lost at sea."¹⁰

The last report of the Duke's Mrs. Allison is found in a letter written the following year to a Campbell representative. It says:

"She lives great at Newcastle, which I suppose you have been informed of already by Mrs. Smith. She appears publickly and publishes her defiance what can be done against her and speaks very disrespectfully of her Grace."

In spite of the fact that for hundreds of years the Campbells had produced in every generation a man outstanding in the government, there still was a most interesting lot of family

¹⁰ *Argyll Papers.*

housekeeping done and the usual bickering over estates which is common to families even today. There are those who have questioned the propriety of the actions of Archibald's son John, in washing the dirty linen of the family in public in order to pry from the fingers of a woman such reward as she might expect for services to his father; the more so, as John himself was of a temperment that considered such actions no great crime and regarded a spare mistress or two as nothing disgraceful. Myln says of him:

"John, Duke of Argyll was made Commissioner to the Parliament 6th March 1705. He brought along with him a certaine instrument called a Quondam, which occasioned the debauching of a great number of ladies of quality, and other young gentlewomen."¹¹

Accounts of the first Duke's financial troubles would indicate that he found, as has many another man, that an extra woman with the consequent extra expense, is not an unmixed blessing. He also found that a mistress as well as a wife could and would talk back. She wrote:

"Yesterday was so favorable tow produce a letter on the strane of saving. . . . (You) know what you left behind and you can have nobody more exakt without imposing . . . when you consider what you ordered to be paed outt of ett, you will find nothing es mismanaged . . . but this is only, you'l say, words butt ett need nott hinder you to introst who you ples; ett will save me a deill of thot and trouble."

The Duke's financial troubles however came not entirely from family overhead. David Campbell, who was the first of the family to reach the estate after the Duke's death, reported that Mrs. Allison had no money and that the Duke had borrowed 250 guineas from her which he:

"gave to Mr. Marr his gentilman of the hors, to go to Newmarket to lay on Wagering, which he promised to give her back out of

¹¹ Ibid.

some money was to come from Edinburgh from the clothing money of the Gaurds, which never cam that way."

David also reported that the diamond ring the Duke had owned had gone by the Newmarket route, as well as the lady's ring and earrings. In short, it is evident that being the mistress of the first Duke of Argyll, was not the royal road to riches.

The cause of the Duke's death is not clear. It is said flatly by one writer that Archibald died from "wounds received in a brothel," which might be construed in more ways than one. The most believable evidence however, as to the condition of his health, lies in family letters referring to his "taking the cure" and the statement that before death he was vomiting blood. At any rate he passed away at about forty-five years of age and his son John stepped into his place as head of the family with the title of second Duke of Argyll.

In the opening years of the eighteenth century there was much beside horses, hound dogs, and women to occupy the talents of the leaders of Britain, and John Campbell was one of those leaders who for years shone brightly in the van of political and military affairs.¹² Plenty of military leadership was needed by Great Britain at that time.

¹² The same Macky who, in his report to Princess Sophia, gave such a poor character to Breadalbane has the following to say about John Campbell:

"The Duke of Argyll is representative of the noble family of Campbell; great grandson to that Earl who was beheaded at the Restoration; grandson to that Earl who was beheaded by King James; and son to that Earl who came over with King William at the Revolution, and by him created Duke.

"His family will not lose in his Person the great figure they have made for so many ages in that kingdom; having all the free spirit and good sense natural to the Family; being always able to bring eight thousand armed men to the field; and both the power of Trying and Executing within his own Territories.

"The Queen hath given him Command of the Horse Guards which his Father also had; and made him one of the Knight Companions of the Thistle. Few of his years hath a better understanding, nor a more manly behavior. He hath seen most of the courts of Euorpe, is very handsome in his person, fair complexioned; about twenty-five years old." See *Memoirs of the Secret Service of John Macky*.

At the close of the seventeenth century France was the same dominant disturbing element in the politics of Europe that Germany became a little over two hundred years later. France was a rich, powerful nation with an income the double of England's, and had an outstanding military establishment, strongly led by Louis XIV, the "Sun King." France was determined to rule Europe. She had designs on Spain and Italy, and at the same time kept Austria, Prussia, Holland, and the lesser divisions of Europe on the defensive. Spain was already reduced somewhat from her former state of pride and power, and when Louis came into control in 1661 he decided on the ruination of that country and a consequent increase in the fortunes of France.

For a time France seemed irresistible. Her armies swept everything before them. The Dutch stood aloof at first under the leadership of their merchant class, which wanted business as usual, but they were aroused when the dragoons of France watered their horses in the Rhine and built their watch fires within sight of Amsterdam. Then John DeWitt, leader of the merchants, was murdered by the frightened Dutch people and William, Prince of Orange, was put at the head of the Dutch Republic. He drew Spain and Austria into an alliance against France and an arduous fight was waged against the armies of Louis. Holland was saved, but France continued to outrage the feelings of her neighboring states.

The Pope was humiliated, territories were overrun and their rulers forced to sue for the favor of Louis on their knees. In the resulting atmosphere of fear and hatred William of Orange went on a hunt for allies who would help stem the rising tide of French arms, and from that effort came the Grand Alliance. William invaded England for a good reason over and above the personally selfish one of wanting to be King of that country. What he really wanted above all was the support of England's army and navy for the Dutch and their allies.

Practically all who write with authority on William of

Orange agree that in spite of being of the Stuart family he was first, last, and always a Dutchman and never really whole-souled for Britain or any British faction. This explains his attitude on many things, including his severity toward the Highlanders when they interfered with his war on the Continent. In his irritation, he brushed at them as a person putting out a fire in his home would strike at a bee buzzing around his ears. However, the Churchills, the Campbells and others who lent a capable hand in the Continental conflict were given more than the usual rewards for work well done.

The same type of political reasoning led to the munificent treatment given by the French government to James II when he fled to St. Germain from his throne in England. Louis perhaps had a fellow feeling for an unlucky brother king, but certainly his strongest compelling motive was the hope that eventually James could be reinstated and the adherence of Britain changed to the side of France. The Jacobites, the Campbells, and other political groups were but units caught in a great underlying sweep of power politics, and took loss or profit as they were able to guide their interests through the current of main events.

The second Duke of Argyll did not tarry long in getting a start toward military eminence he quickly attained. The Campbell regiment of foot which his father had raised and commanded in Flanders served as his training ground, and his ability as an officer was displayed while he was still very young. On May 7, 1694, when not yet seventeen, he was given his commission and command of his father's regiment.¹³ In 1697, the Peace of Ryswick ended the need for this regiment; it was disbanded, and the Campbells who had served in it returned home.

In the campaign of 1702, John Campbell commanded the tenth Regiment of Foot and in 1703 was made colonel of the

¹³ *Scots Peerage*—Quoting Dalton's Army Lists.

fourth Regiment of Horse Guards. By the time he was twenty-eight years of age he was a brigadier general; three years later he was a major general, was advanced to lieutenant general and in 1711, when he was thirty-three years old, was made commander in chief of the British army in Spain, with the added powers of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Charles III. Thus, in a paragraph, we review the military rise of this extraordinary member of the Campbell clan.

In March 1702, while King William was riding, his horse stumbled over a mole hill and the King died from the fall.¹⁴ His sister-in-law, Anne, daughter of James II, became Queen of England and Scotland, which insured a vigorous conduct of the war, for the wife of Marlborough was a close friend of Anne's and lost no time in securing ample aid and supplies for her husband. John Campbell, who was accepted at London as one of Scotland's coming men, was immediately taken up by Marlborough and given rapid advancement.

John Campbell received a favorable report for his valor at the siege of Kaiserwerth on the Rhine, where he commanded the tenth Regiment of Foot in the campaign of 1702. Before he returned to the war the next spring he was made a Knight of the Thistle; on February 6, 1703 he was moved from the infantry and given command of the Scots Horse Guards, which was an advancement for those were the days of mounted soldiers and of cavalry charges with squadrons of troopers crashing into each other and slugging it out hand to

¹⁴ This accident gave another opportunity for the Jacobites to make private play with their sly devilments. William III had been given nicknames by them such as "Willie Winkle," "Willie Waybeard," "Willie the Wag," etc.; at Jacobite meetings they threw up oranges and caught them on the points of their swords or cut the rind and dripped the juice out. Now it became fashionable to toast the "Little Gentleman in Black Velvet," meaning the mole that dug the hole that threw the King and caused his death. See the ballad "The Gentleman in Black Velvet" in George W. Thornbury, *Songs of the Cavaliers and Roundheads*.

hand. Foot soldiers were forever being chivied about, forming squares for the protection of the artillery and themselves while the horse troops of both friend and foe galloped about them, often within musket shot. Joining the Horse Guards in those days was much the same as joining the Air Corps today.

When John returned from the campaign of 1703 he became the second Duke of Argyll as the heir of his father, who had died in that year, and his real political career began. Although under the required age of twenty-five, he was sworn in as a Privy Councilor and took his place in all the offices pertaining to his position. His younger brother, Archibald, who was also brilliant, was introduced to the politics of the United Kingdom soon after and, like his older brother, became a power in Great Britain.

Two principle problems which concerned the government at that time concerned the Campbells as well. One was the matter of succession to the throne. Who would take Anne's place at her death? On this subject the Campbells were strongly committed. They dared not permit the return of a Stuart if they could prevent it. Most of the English leaders in Parliament felt as they did and passed the Act of Settlement, which declared that no one should rule except a communicant of the Church of England as by law established. It was necessary to uphold the law however, to make it effective, for Jacobite hopes burned at their brightest during Anne's reign, and they plotted industriously to bring young James to the throne.

Another problem involved the bringing of Scotland and England together under one government. The previous union had been dissolved by Charles II on his restoration, and there were two strong parties each supporting its side of this question. Peaceful living called for a common government with common laws and regulations, said the Whigs. The Jacobites

opposed this with all their strength because without a separate government for Scotland where his friends were strong, James III had small chance for a throne. There were also strong church interests and religious differences which intervened against the Union as well as the Scottish traditional prejudice against anything English. On the other hand, it was argued that trade and shipping would benefit. When all was said and done it became evident that a majority felt the Union desirable if it could be attained, but none were too willing to give up their own particular advantages. Careful handling was needed, and the Queen sent the best Scottish politician she could find as her High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament that year; that man was John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll, twenty-seven years of age and fresh from the campaigns on the Continent under Marlborough.

Says Robert Campbell in his *Life of Argyll*:¹⁵

“His Grace set out for Scotland in the month of April 1705, and was met on the Borders near Berwick, by a Squadron of Horse on the 23rd of that month. That night his Grace lay at Dumbar, about eighteen miles from Edinburgh; next day he was met some miles from the city by about five hundred horses, and about forty coaches belonging to the nobility and gentry of Scotland and the Lord Provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, who attended his Grace to his apartments in the Royal Palace of Holy Rood House where he was received by a double salvo of all the Cannon in the Castle, the Great Guns in the Park, and all the Men of War, both Dutch and Scotch, then lying in the road of Leith; the citizens of Edinburgh expressing their satisfaction in the choice her Majesty had made of a person to represent her Sacred Person, by Bonfires, Illuminations, and all other marks of joy.”

The Campbells were back in the saddle in Scotland, and when the Scottish Parliament met in June 1705, Hugh Camp-

¹⁵ Printed for the author and sold by Charles Corbett at Addison Head against Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street London—1745.

bell, Earl of Loudoun, was made Secretary of State, while Archibald Campbell, younger brother of the Duke of Argyll, was made Lord High Treasurer of Scotland to permit his voting in Parliament, although he was only twenty-three years old at the time and the work of the Treasury was handled by a commission.

The debate on the question of the Union was long drawn out. On the commission of thirty men appointed by the Scottish Parliament to work out the details three were Campbells—the Earl of Loudoun; Archibald Campbell, brother of Argyll, and a David Campbell, who was the tax collector of the customs. The Duke of Argyll was asked to serve also, but because the Duke of Hamilton had been promised a place on the commission and had not been appointed, Argyll refused the appointment.

The opposition to the Union was long and bitter. Even after it was accomplished the Jacobites were irreconcilable and the Campbells were well “plastered” in the political lampoons of the time.¹⁶

The rewards dealt out to John and Archibald Campbell were in keeping with the services rendered. The former was given the new titles of Baron Chatham and Earl of Greenwich in the peerage of England, while Archibald was made Viscount of Ilay, Lord Oransay, Dunoon and Arrase. To the outsider, no doubt, these were signs of political seduction, as the Jacobites claimed. Be it said however, that although both the men involved served their country in many ways in addition to their work in bringing about the Union, in the

¹⁶ Under the title of “The Awkward Squad” the Jacobites wrote:

“Shame for my een,
If e’er I have seen
Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!
The Campbell and the Graham
are equally to blame
Seduc’d by strong infatuation.”

—Mackay, *Jacobite Songs and Ballads*

light of history there is nothing in the long line of Campbell attainments that has contributed more to the peace and tranquillity of their fellowmen than the bringing of these two nations together. The Campbell brothers were not too highly paid.

In 1706 John Campbell was back at the wars with high authority under the Duke of Marlborough. He was a brigadier general and helped sweep the French off the field at the battle of Ramillies. When the French gave way before the Dutch troopers the British charged and not only routed an army but retook the Netherlands; such was the net result of this great French defeat.

Following the wake of this battle, Ostend was besieged for three days in July, with Overkirk in command and Argyll serving under him. On July 4 the town surrendered and Argyll then moved on to Minin and took possession of that town on August 25. He was learning his trade at home and abroad under that well known and capable teacher—Experience.

By 1708 Argyll was a major general, and when the Jacobites attempted to take Scotland with the aid of the French, his Buffs were called upon along with nine other regiments to prevent the landing. When the attempt was abandoned Argyll returned to the Continent, where on July 11th another victory was won by Marlborough and Prince Eugene in which he played a major part. Says Winston Churchill in *Marlborough*, concerning the battle of Oudenard:

“It was a quarter to three. . . . Argyll and the leading corps including all the British infantry had reached the bridges . . . at this moment when the main action was about to begin these infantry had marched over fifty miles in sixty hours. . . . Mortal danger confronted the heroic Cadogan. Over-weighted in front, his right flank in the condition we have described, he was now momentarily being overlapped and turned on his left by the

advance of the French right wing. . . . But help was at hand. The Duke of Argyll, with twenty battalions of British infantry, advancing in perfect order now came into the line on his left, and met foursquare the masses of French infantry."

By the time the defeated French army had fled in confusion from the battlefield John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll, had proved himself capable of taking a large place in the military affairs of Europe. He will long be remembered as the man who was at hand to save the day at Oudenard.

At home Marlborough had been the beneficiary of huge grants which made him rich, powerful, and the owner of four magnificent establishments one of which, at least, was the equivalent of a royal castle. He had been given jewels, pictures, money, and furnishings till the total bill to the government had run to almost the equivalent of two and a half million dollars. In addition, the "Great Duke" had "saved" sums of considerable size from funds allowed him for the army both by Great Britain and the Allies. Not content with all this, he had advised the French government that the price of a peace of his making would be an honorarium that ran to over a quarter of a million dollars. Such lavish rewards were generally looked upon as ample, even for a genius who by his military ability was making the British army a name to conjure with. When it became known that he was keeping in contact with the Stuart heirs through his nephew, the Duke of Berwick,¹⁷ there were many who felt that the time had come to call a halt. Some were jealous; others feared honestly a new Cromwell in the making; still others believed he would bring a Stuart back to the throne when the Queen died. Much was afoot in 1709 to cut Marlborough down to smaller size. Among his opponents were Harley, then Secretary of State, and various officers of the army, including Ar-

¹⁷ Berwick was the bastard son of James II and Annabella Churchill, sister of Marlborough.

gyll. Harley's motive was plain—he aspired to greater power in the government for himself. John Campbell's motive is harder to fathom; certainly he had advanced fast in the army; his recognition in the government would seem to have been ample. It may have been jealousy, although it appears that Argyll had come honestly to the opinion that Marlborough was dangerous.

Marlborough's answer to such plotting could best be found in another famous victory which would sweep the country off its feet. Out of this need came the battle of Malplaquet, for which opportunity came the next fall.

On September 11, 1709, the French troops stood at bay on their own border, waiting for the next move of the Allies. On the allied side the second Duke of Argyll, with rank of lieutenant general, was serving under General Lottum with twenty-two battalions, of which Argyll's British Brigade was a part and which included the Buffs, the King's Regiment and probably Temple's. Theirs was a tough assignment. A tongue of woods projected from the battle field in the direction of the allies and this the French had fortified with breast works and obstructions made by cutting down trees with the sharpened tops pointed toward the invaders. On the right of Lottum, General Schulenburg with forty battalions struck the French-held woods first, was soon entangled and almost immediately lost every colonel and two of his three major generals. Then Lottum and Argyll move forward and, wrote an eye witness on the French side:

“Fourteen guns were brought up . . . the fire of these guns was terrific and scarcely a shot missed its mark . . . the cannon shot carried off whole ranks at a time, but a gap was no sooner created than it was immediately filled again.”¹⁸

Other troops went in and the battle raged from one end

¹⁸ Winston Churchill.

of the line to the other with unparalleled slaughter visited by the French on the attacking force everywhere. The Dutch and the Scots were caught by cross fire of cannon balls and grapeshot and the ground was soon heaped with windrows of dead in Dutch blue uniforms and Highland dress. These two forces in half an hour lost five thousand men each.

Driving against the French, who held or fell back as seemed indicated by military developments, Argyll's brigade plunged deeper into the woods.

Says Churchill:

"The conditions inside the salient were indescribable. Within a triangle, no side of which exceeded six hundred yards, there were at least seven thousand men lying dead and wounded, more than thirty thousand allied infantry in solid masses, and four or five thousand French survivors. More than half the superior officers had fallen. The wounded of both sides, officers and men, were bayoneted and plundered. The screams of the injured, the roar of the mob of combatants, the crash of musketry, resounded from the smoking inferno, in which half the allied Foot had become engulfed.

Argyll's brigade sustained heavy losses, and Sir Richard Temple's regiment lost more men that day than any other British battalion. They performed prodigies; and their high spirits took a savage form. "They hewed in pieces," wrote a German observer, "all they found before them—even the dead, when their fury found no more living to devour." Out of this welter finally burst the allied forces *on the French side of the woods*. Argyll led his men into the clearing, his clothes riddled with bullet holes. Some accounts say there were five, some seven, but all agree that he escaped death by a miracle.

Equally severe fighting went forward in other parts of the field.

"Jemmy Campbell at the head of the Grey Dragoons behaved



Pickard of Leeds

JEMMY CAMPBELL'S GRAY DRAGOONS

"Jemmy Campbell at the head of the Gray Dragoons behaved like an angel, broke through both lines," wrote General Orkney after the Battle of Malpaquet. In this battle the Scots Greys were stationed on the right front, under James Campbell, son of the second Earl of Loudoun, with orders not to move. When the obstinate stand of the French put the outcome of the day in doubt, Campbell charged without orders through the lines of the enemy and then back again. The next day Prince Eugene thanked him before the whole army for exceeding his orders.

At the battle of Ramillies, the Grays took seventeen standards. At Dettingen, with James Campbell again commanding, they broke the Maison du Roi (Household of the King) troops and took their colors. Campbell was publicly thanked and decorated on the field for this exploit by George II, the last of the British Kings to lead his troops personally in battle. James Campbell, with rank of Lieutenant General, in command of cavalry, was killed by a cannonball at the battle of Fontenoy. His son became the fifth Earl of Loudoun.

This painting depicts the typical gray horses of the unit which for centuries charged enemy lines shouting "Scotland Forever." At Waterloo, led by Lieutenant Colonel J. Hamilton, they charged and broke the French Invincibles, and captured standards bearing the names of many French victories such as Wagram and Austerlitz. When Napoleon saw the devastation created among his men, he exclaimed, "Those terrible Grays — how they fight!" Colonel Hamilton had both hands struck off during the engagement, carried on as long as he could with the reins in his teeth, and died on the field.

The painting is by Elizabeth Thompson Butler. The original is owned by the corporation of Leeds.

like an angell, broke through both lines,"¹⁹ wrote General Orkney, whose forces broke the French lines in the center.

Finally the battle slowed to a standstill. Nobody really won, although the Allies rested upon the field that night while the French drew off. Twenty-four thousand men and officers were dead on the Allied side and at least half that number on the French. The day was dearly bought. Only a complete victory could have justified such slaughter and Malplaquet was no such victory. From that day forward Marlborough's star began to wane; from that day also dates the open admission of bitter feeling between him and Argyll.

It is apparent that some time before October 25, 1709, when Argyll arrived home, Marlborough had written recommending him for the Order of the Garter. On that date Queen Anne wrote to Marlborough stating that she had conferred with Argyll and had promised it, but had enjoined secrecy as Marlborough had requested.

When Marlborough returned from this campaign he asked for a generous reward for himself. He proposed to the Queen that she make him captain-general for life. This she refused to do and she was supported by many of her trusted leaders. Among them was John Campbell, who made a fiery speech in

¹⁹ *Letters of the First Lord Orkney*, quoted by Churchill.

James Campbell, 3rd son of the 2nd Earl of Loudoun was about 40 years of age at this time. After the battle Prince Eugene thanked Campbell publicly before the whole army for this charge, which determined the outcome of this portion of the battle. After the Peace of Utrecht James became active with his brother, Lord Loudoun, and other Campbells in support of the Hanoverian succession. George II made him Groom of the Bedchamber and in 1738 he was made Governor of Edinburgh Castle. He sat in Parliament representing Stirling (1734-41) Ayrshire 1741. His promotion to lieutenant general came in 1742 and he went to France as general commanding the cavalry. In June 1745 he was invested with the order of Knight of the Bath in view of the whole army as a reward for his charge against the Maison du Roi at the battle of Dettingen. At Fontenoy April 30, 1745 he lead charge after charge against the French and died when his leg was struck off by a cannon ball.

Parliament opposing Marlborough and his right to the thanks of the nation. To the Queen he said:

"Your Majesty need not be in pain for I would undertake whenever you command to seize the Duke at the head of his troops and bring him away dead or alive."

In March 1710²⁰ John Campbell became a Knight of the Garter and gave up the Order of the Thistle to accept it. By that time such outspoken antagonism had developed between him and the Great Duke that the latter wrote to his wife, "I do with all my heart wish I had not recommended Argyll."

By June, Argyll and a group of army officers associated with him were openly criticising their commander-in-chief, and one of them wrote from Europe to Secretary of State Robert Harley in London that as they were unwilling to secure the customary permission of the commanding officer before leaving camp, they hoped he would secure a letter or other indication from the Queen that they might return to England when they saw fit, and without consulting Marlborough.²¹ About that time Marlborough wrote to his wife:

"I have so resented the behavior of the Duke of Argyll that nobody converses with him but such as are angry with me."

However, the Campbell instinct for being on the winning side was guiding Argyll aright. He soon gained ground at the expense of the Churchill family. Says Luttrell's Diary for September 26, 1710:

"Earl of River's is made general of the English Horse in Flanders and the duke of Argyll general of the foot, in place of the Prince of Hesse, general of the first and general Churchill (brother to the duke of Marlborough) of the latter."

²⁰ Luttrell's *Diary*.

²¹ The Queen granted this request, but when he was advised of it Argyll went to Marlborough and denied any knowledge of the letter. Although working against Marlborough, Argyll was too good a soldier to attempt any such high-handed flouting of the Commander's authority in the field.

Marlborough was steadily losing. The Queen turned against his wife, who had been her companion from childhood, changes were made in the ministry, and the appointment of the Duke of Argyll to the command of the Foot was equivalent to a generous slap in the face.

This was the situation January 11, 1711, when the head of the Campbells was made commander-in-chief of the English forces in Spain with emoluments amounting to close to 100,000 pounds per year. But even though he was well paid Argyll was to regret the adventure.

Spain had been the graveyard of many a military reputation and during the previous year the English forces had suffered a serious setback. Their general was a prisoner of war, the leaderless forces were split up into small units in ill-fortified positions, while the enemy had all the extra morale that comes from a victorious year in the field. Money, food, ammunition and supplies were lacking and the luckless generals who failed had been vigorously assailed in Parliament. In spite of all these adverse circumstances Argyll set forth in March to assume command and to treat with Charles III of Spain as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

When he reached Genoa in May by the overland route through Holland and Italy, affairs had in no ways improved. He was able to take the field with only five thousand half-starved troops that had received no pay for months, and there were good grounds for fearing, as he wrote home, that he would "lose his reputation." With his own money Argyll provided some of the most urgently needed supplies for his men, who "would soon be naked" as Colonel Kane wrote,²² and who were a sad contrast to the well-supplied, well-trained crack troops Argyll had been accustomed to lead in the French campaigns. The situation was intolerable, and after a summer of marching and countermarching which accom-

²² Hunt and Poole, *History of England*.

plished nothing, he gave up Spain and withdrew his troops to Port Mahon on Minorca, where he served as governor of the Island for four years. When peace finally came in 1712, Great Britain retained the island bases in the Mediterranean as well as the Rock of Gibraltar, a combination which gave it a powerful position in that part of the world.

When John Campbell returned to London he was in no cordial frame of mind toward the government which had left him without support. In spite of the honor of his appointment as Commander-in-chief of Scotland and Governor of Edinburgh Castle (in addition to the governorship of Minorca), he resented the treatment which had left his men starving for lack of supplies. He was far from friendly to the ministers in charge of the government, and in spite of his position as Privy Councilor, attended no meetings.

In the meantime the Queen's life hung by a thread. Her health had failed fast; and any day she might pass away and throw into the laps of her Ministers the problem of a successor. The wrong choice would be disastrous for the Campbells.

There were signs of an attempted Stuart restoration. Marlborough, who had been dismissed from his command, was tentatively dealing with the Jacobites through the Duke of Berwick and had gone so far as to ask James for full pardon for all acts should the Pretender come to the throne. Bolingbroke, head of the Tory party, realizing that his power depended upon the favor of the sovereign, had made many preparations to ease the return of the Stuart heir. He had replaced the Whig officers in the army with Jacobites, had begun to tamper with the navy, and had turned over all civil posts to those favoring a change. He had however, made no attempt to repeal the law providing for the royal succession, and by law only a Protestant could occupy the throne of Great Britain.

The Tories needed time to perfect their plans and the Queen's life was running out.

Into this unsettled state of affairs stepped the Duke of Argyll. The Privy Council, which had been meeting at Whitehall, adjourned to Kensington to be near the Queen in her extremity, and was in session with the customary absence of the dissenting members. Suddenly the door was flung open; into the meeting strode two of the absentees, the Duke of Argyll and the Duke of Somerset; they stated that in the dangerous illness of the Queen they felt it their duty to offer their services for the benefit of their country. Already sitting in the Council chamber was Shrewsbury, who was presiding in the place of the President General, the Duke of Buckingham. The presiding officer welcomed the two dukes and thanked them for their patriotism. The Tories, unprepared for such a move and with their plan still incomplete, were flustered and disorganized by this stage play, for after all it was an act carefully planned by Argyll, Somerset and Shrewsbury. The business of the day proved to be the choosing of a Lord Treasurer, who in those days carried much of the responsibility now delegated to the Prime Minister. Shrewsbury was nominated and rushed to the Queen's bedside, where the appointment was confirmed through the ceremony of placing the white staff of the office in her hand and then guiding it to the hand of the new incumbent, even though she was practically unconscious when it was done. Within thirty-six hours the Queen was dead, and according to the plan of the faction to which John Campbell belonged, the Protestant Elector of Hanover was proclaimed King, August 1, 1714. The last good chance for the Pretender had gone. George I was a "safe man" both for the country and the Campbells, and although the Jacobites later did their best to overthrow him, he stayed on the throne.

And thus again a Campbell leader had done his full part in

turning a major tide in state affairs. Perhaps he saved his country from bloody civil war, for had the Pretender been encouraged to move into England after the manner of William of Orange, the resulting crop of dead men and national dissension might well have set Great Britain back beyond immediate repair.

"It is noteworthy that these were the same three Dukes and men of middle views, who had turned the scale in 1710 against Godolphin and Marlborough," says Churchill.²³

When all personal weaknesses and political prejudices are summed up, John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll, has still a great balance on the plus side of the ledger. His was a middle-of-the-road policy that helped stave off any possibility of a military dictatorship on the one hand and bloody usurpation on the other. At no time in the history of Britain was a kingmaker with common sense more greatly needed, nor is there an example of a kingmaker operating with more adroitness at the crucial moment.

Note to Chapter XIV:

WORLD WARS APLENTY

Those interested in the larger aspects of history, as well as in the detailed story of Scotland and the Campbells, should remember that Jacobite affairs were but a part of the great game of international chess with which European leaders beguiled themselves. Likewise those of us who are under the impression that the so-called world wars I and II actually represent the first and

²³ Op. cit.

second of such embroilments should be reminded that at least half a dozen "world wars" preceded the ones officially so designated. The following two-hemisphere conflicts should be considered.

The War of the Grand Alliance—Called also "War of the League of Augsburg" and "Dutch War Against France." In this war John Campbell won his first recognition as an officer in the British army. In America this was called "King William's War" and was marked by clashes on the Northern border with the Indians and the French on one side and the English settlers on the other. Schenectady, in what is now New York State, was attacked without warning Feb. 9, 1690, and this richest of New York settlements was burned. Sixty inhabitants were killed and about 30 taken into captivity. The Jacobite end of this was under Dundee against Mackay (Killiecrankie was fought July 27, 1689) and the Massacre of Glencoe was King William's way of shutting off Highland support for the French. This World War ended with the peace of Ryswick (1697) and left matters much as they were before, except that the Campbells were thereafter held up as murders for following the orders of their King.

The War of the Spanish Succession—The war which "made" Marlborough, Prince Eugene, John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll, and hundreds of other heroes. It was an attempt on the part of France to bring the crown of Spain under French domination, while the English fought to maintain a "balance of power." In America this was called "Queen Anne's War" and was marked by raids north along Lake Champlain and up the St. Lawrence River. In the south, English colonists from South Carolina captured St. Augustine, Florida, but being unable to reduce the fort, burned the town (1702) and returned home. In Scotland in 1708 there was talk of a Jacobite rising and several regiments were withdrawn from the European theater of war to be ready for it but nothing developed. The peace of Utrecht (1713) closed this war which included the battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenard and Malplaquet, and gave to Britain the Rock of Gibraltar which controls the mouth of the Mediterranean. Britain also added to its domain important holdings in

Canada, including Newfoundland, Acadia "with its ancient limits," and valuable territory in the Hudson Bay region.

War of the Austrian Succession—In the drive for world trade Spain and England jostled each other, and a British sea captain named Jenkins came home from the West Indies with one of his ears in his pocket as proof that any Englishman who sailed the Spanish Main did so at his own risk. (1739) In 1745 the British captured Louisburg, largely through efforts of the American colonists, who called this "King George's War." In Scotland the Jacobites on the moor of Culloden culminated an age-long opposition to England, its allies and all the works of both. On the heads of the defeated Highlanders descended the wrath of a government that had fought for generations with the back door via Scotland open. Britain and Austria fought this world war against France, Spain, Bavaria, and Prussia and the latter began its expansion by seizing Silesia and holding it by the peace treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).

The Seven Years' War—Prussia and Austria changed sides. This time England was allied with the Germans, while Austria fought as the ally of France. In America, Great Britain made enormous gains by getting control of the Ohio River, while Wolfe captured Quebec. Clive conquered India and Britain's foundation for the title "Great" was laid; after this war the sun never set on her empire. This war ended with the Treaty of Paris 1763.

The American Revolution—Americans often forget that Great Britain fought not only the American colonies, but France, Spain, and Holland as well. British victories in the West Indies were counterbalanced by losses in India and the Mediterranean. Britain's sea power was spread too thin and France, by capturing control of the Atlantic seaboard, enabled its land forces, allied with the Colonists, to bring about the downfall of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Overenthusiastic Americans should view in the Palace of Versailles the painting which commemorates the fall of Yorktown, and by inference claims it as one of the great victories of France. The men who constituted the government of England were strongly divided in their sympathies, and news

of colonial victories was met with cheers by some members of Parliament. Campbells fought on both sides. The Scotch-Irish portion of the clan was for the colonies and freedom from Great Britain. Others supported the King; the warships sent overseas from the British Isles often carried Campbells as soldiers who remained in the New World to become settlers in Canada and the United States. The loss of the American colonies (which was a far greater misfortune than anyone at the time suspected) led to the reform of the government of England.

The Napoleonic Wars—France fought everybody in sight and lost because its Emperor had no conception of what constituted enough. The American phase of this war, called the War of 1812, was brought on by the sea blockade set up by Britain. Through Napoleon's sale of Louisiana Territory to the United States, this country came out of the conflict with the greatest gains of any one concerned. Again it was fortunate for the young country just starting its growth along the Atlantic seaboard that England's major attention was directed elsewhere. Had the Battle of Waterloo come two or three years earlier, the outcome in America might have been different.

In 1823 the United States proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine, which was designed to end America's participation in Europe's never-ending quarrels. The peace was kept till 1917—Let no Campbell beguile himself into false security. We are now neck-deep in the quarrels of all the world. The wise ones among us will keep our powder dry. Negotiations since the beginning of time have been able to stave off armed conflict for only a breathing spell. Negotiating will help now but if we lean solely on this slender reed we shall surely fall. If I am wrong I hereby apologise to generations of Campbells yet unborn. If I am right it will be a good thing if perhaps a few on the Campbell side are well prepared.

CHAPTER XV

The Campbells Help Quiet the Jacobites

BOTH IN ENGLAND and Scotland the Jacobites were greatly encouraged by the widespread discontent with King George I, and the drinking of toasts to James was doubled and redoubled. However, when it came to actually taking sword in hand and risking life, limb, and the future of the family on one desperate uprising, not many were to be found in England willing to take the chance.

Armed assistance from France was not to be counted upon, for Louis XIV had died in September 1715 after making peace with England, and his country was in no mood to start another war. The Duke of Berwick, bastard son of James II and half brother to the Pretender, had been made a Marshal of France and refused to join James in an attempt to regain the crown without the consent of the French Regent, the Duke of Orleans, which was refused.¹

In the summer of 1715 the plotting came to a head when John Erskine, Earl of Mar, set up the standard of James and called out the clans. Colin Campbell of Glendaruel was in attendance at this meeting, but the Campbells were badly split.

The rising, if it succeeded, promised destruction for the Campbells of Argyll. Most of the other clans were enemies

¹ By some historians Berwick is ranked next to Prince Eugene, Charles XII, and Marlborough as a military leader. With Berwick to lead them, the Jacobites might have had a better chance, but he had "arrived" and had no intention of risking his position. When he asked the Duke for permission to fight he knew the answer would be no.

with old scores to settle, and no mercy could be expected from them or from the James branch of the Stuarts. Marlborough was again head of the King's army as Captain-General, but he was too strongly tinged with Jacobitism to be trusted,² so the government immediately appointed Argyll Commander in chief for Scotland. Without a single soldier accompanying him, he set out at once for home, where he found about 1500 loyal troops cowering under the guns of Stirling and the country bordering on panic. By raising the Argyll and Loudoun Campbells, and some other clansmen and Lowlanders, he increased his force to about 3000 men—the best he could do. The Campbells of his own family were slow in moving eastward because of the threatened invasion of Argyllshire by neighboring clans. The Campbells of Breadalbane, Glendaruel, Auchenbrecht and Vochnill were against him, but his brother Archibald, Lord Register of Scotland and Earl of Islay, was especially active in his support. Archibald nipped a plot in Edinburgh and then, leaving John Campbell behind as Lord Provost of the city of Edinburgh, he moved with Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finert to raise the Argyllshire militia and fortify and garrison Inveraray. Argyll hoped to forestall the rising of the northwest clans, but Glengarry moved ahead of him and secured the support of the Campbells of Glendaruel and also of Rob Roy (Campbell), who joined the rebels with 200 MacGregors upon being promised the restoration of his name if James won. His forces proved of no value to Mar, however, for they held themselves aloof from battle and did nothing but plunder. Mar wrote at this time to Gordon who was in command of the northwestern forces:

“I suppose the men with you will not be over well armed but

² Distrust of Marlborough was justified. We now know that he made a contribution of 4000 pounds to the cause of the Pretender during the summer of 1715.

what they want of that can be well supplied at Inveraray, where I know a good number are lately come."

A force of MacDonalds and MacKenzies went after the arms at Inveraray with 2000 men, but the Earl of Islay was there ahead of them and held the town with the aid of Sir Duncan Campbell. A conference of the leaders of both sides was held, which developed into a verbal sparring match with no indication of warlike intentions. The rebels withdrew peacefully, for the Earl of Mar, with a highly inflammable house of his own, wanted no reprisals.

The Campbells, hoping for an opening, followed the invading force as it drew away, but found it too strong to meddle with. However, they did encounter 600 Campbells marching to unite with Mar under the leadership of Campbell of Glendaruel, Campbell of Glenylon and John Campbell, chamberlain to the Earl of Breadalbane. Both parties threw down their plaids, drew swords and prepared to fight, but were halted by one of the captains who rode between them and made an oration on the foolishness of Campbells killing one another. As a result of this potent reasoning the fight was avoided, and the two bodies marched away cheering and waving their bonnets. "Not a bad way to end such matters," writes one philosophical historian.³

The forces were now pretty well aligned. Favoring the King were some of the Campbells, and certain other clans including those of Mackay, Ross, Monroe, Grant, and Olgivie, and a force of Lowlanders. For the Jacobites there were the rebel Campbells, together with the MacDonalds, Mackenzies, McCraws, Chisholms, Fraziers, Gordons⁴ and some others.

³ Hogg.

⁴ The night of November 10, all the Frasers deserted Mar, as did 200 of Lord Huntley's best men (Gordons) "because they had been designedly more oppressed with duties than any other . . . there were squabbles about the posts of our squadrons and we were never so constant in anything as our being disorderly." *Jacobites and the Rebellion*.

The first skirmish took place near Castle Campbell, east of Stirling. Mar sent Thomas Graham with 300 foot and 80 horse to march past the castle as an insult to the garrison inside. After this warlike gesture the men entered the village of Dunfermline, where they undertook an evening of heavy drinking. Argyll sent Colonel Charles Cathcart to watch the proceedings and at five in the morning he struck. The Jacobites retreated with a loss of seventeen prisoners and several sentinels killed. The principal battle soon followed at a place called Sheriffmuir, about two miles from the town of Dunblane, on November 13. A part of the Jacobite force had been detached to invade England, but still Mar had about three times as many men as the King; however, the latter had John Campbell, well trained in warfare under Marlborough and Eugene and tested in the fire of Ramillies, Oudenard and Malplaquet. The Duke's leadership overbalanced the extra six thousand men.

Argyll took personal command of the right wing of his army, where he opposed men chiefly from Angus and Fife in the East Lowlands and clansmen MacKenzie, Stewart and Cameron, supported by cavalry drawn from the Clan Gordon. Witham, who commanded the left wing for him was opposed by the MacLeans and MacDonalds, easily some of the toughest clan fighters in Scotland. Witham had his hands full, as he found out before the battle had been on ten minutes. Whightman, who commanded the center of Argyll's force, was opposed by the Campbells of Breadalbane, the remaining Gordons, the Olgivies, and a force of MacPhersons united with the MacGregors under Rob Roy. The latter's heart was with Argyll and he held the MacGregors and the MacPhersons out of the battle although threatened with the sword of a MacPherson leader for doing so.⁵

⁵ Says the ballad of Sherrifmuir, regarding Rob Roy:

"He ne'er advanced, from the place where he stanced
Till nae mair was to do there at 'a man."

On the right Argyll charged so fiercely that the Jacobites before him gave way, fled for two miles, and finally dispersed in disorder over the river Allen. Says a ballad of that day:

“The Camerons scoured as they were mad,
McKenzie and the Stewart fled.
Had they behaved like Donald’s corps
And killed all those who came before,
Their King had gone to France no more.”

When he returned to the field he found that he had been defeated on his left wing just as decisively and quickly as he had won on the right. Sword in hand the MacDonalds were repeating the exploits of Killiecrankie and had that side of the field in wild disorder. Witham, with some of the horse, rode full gallop to Stirling and gave out there with certainty that all was lost. In the center Argyll’s force stood fast and even advanced somewhat at first, but finding both flanks exposed, drew off in confusion.

Mar lacked the skill to take advantage of the situation and withdrew his force to the top of near-by Kippendavy Hill, from which he idly watched the milling forces of Argyll reforming. An abler soldier would have kept his Highlanders busy bashing in skulls; rightly handled, Mar’s force must surely have cut Argyll’s army to pieces. In the evening Mar withdrew, saving all his artillery except two guns with broken carriages, and was soon back at Perth gathering provisions for his army.⁶

⁶ There’s some say that we wan
Some day that they wan,
and some say that none wan at a’man;
But one thing I’m sure,
That at Sherramuir,
A battle there was, that I saw, man:
And we ran, and they ran,
And they ran and we ran,
And we ran, and they ran awa’ man.
—Mackay, *Jacobite Songs and Ballads*

Word was soon received that on the day of the Sheriffmuir battle the troops that had gone to invade England had surrendered to the King's men. Their leaders had been hustled off to the Tower of London. Almost two hundred were paraded through the streets of the capital with their hands tied behind their backs and the horse of each led by a soldier. In the final accounting only a few of these men lost their lives, although all lost whatever property and position they had. Among those beheaded on Tower Hill was James Ratcliff, Lord Derwentwater, grandson of Charles II. He was executed February 24, 1716 at twenty-one years of age.

Serving with Argyll was Hugh Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, and Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay, who joined his brother half an hour before the battle began and was severely wounded.

James III was delayed in arriving among the people who were fighting his battles for him. He spent considerable time trying for aid in France and without it, in spite of bad weather, finally reached Scotland on January 2, 1716. He was soon convinced that the cause was lost and both he and Mar sailed for France by mid-February. Upon his return to the Continent he found himself an unwelcome guest and finally took up residence in Rome with a pension from the Pope.

It is probably just as well that Mar was no better soldier. In time the government must surely have worn him down and the result would have been the same with more dead on both sides. John Campbell, when he saw how things were going, slowed down the speed of his pursuit of the rebels, evidently having decided that it would be better to let the fire die out than to try to stamp it out. Knowing the clansmen, he realized that if he left them alone they would get tired of the short rations that plagued the Jacobites and return to their homes.

Marlborough was in no mood for dallying, however, once

he saw that the Jacobite cause was lost and that Jacobite sympathizers would be called to an accounting. He suddenly became very industrious in helping to put down the revolt. He sent General William Cadogan into Scotland with 6000 Dutch troops; and when Argyll failed to press the pursuit vigorously Marlborough removed him and gave the command to this man who owed John Campbell so much for coming up in the nick of time at Oudenard. The rising by them was over. The Highlanders, without James, soon drifted away and all was quiet on the Jacobite front except for certain captured gentlemen who paid for their rashness.⁷

Some of those who have deplored the disaster which overtook the MacDonalds at Glencoe should read the account of what the Jacobites, and particularly the MacDonalds, did to their fellow countrymen during this rising. At Blackfoord, January 25, 1716, Clanranald of the MacDonalds gave orders in these words:

“Go and Burn all the Houses in the town, Spare none except the church and Mrs. Patterson’s.”⁸

Men moved to the door of each home in the early morning and suddenly broke in, giving the inmates no chance to rise and dress. Each home was immediately fired and such gear as was pitched out of the burning domiciles was immediately plundered by the rebels. Children and infants were saved with difficulty and the inhabitants left without food, clothing or shelter in the January snows of a Scottish winter. Nor was this burning a solitary incident. Similar destruction was wreaked upon the towns of Dunning, Muthill, Dalreach and Crieff, with no military result possible except to develop hatred for the Jacobites and all their works. James the Pretender was so distressed by what his followers had done that

⁷ Cadogan burned the House of Campbell of Breadalbane as punishment for harboring Rob Roy. See Walter Scott, *History of the Macgregors*.

⁸ *Jacobites and the Rebellion*.

he distributed money to alleviate the suffering they had caused.

In 1692 the MacDonalds had shouted bloody murder over the Glencoe Massacre when they were turned out in the February snows by men who gave them no warning; in 1716 they were sneaking up in the nighttime to pile inflammables about the homes of their fellow Scots and light the thatch over the heads of sleeping women and children. No Jacobite outcry was heard regarding the cruelty of this outrage, again proving that it makes a difference who owns the ox that is gored.

The attempt of 1715 was followed by a minor move to rebellion in 1719, during which Colin Campbell of Glendaruel,⁹ Jacobite exile, returned from France, and went into the Highlands to rouse the clans. He had some success with the MacKenzies, MacGregors, Camerons, and MacKinnons but, as might be expected, the MacDonalds would have nothing to do with a Campbell-promoted enterprise. The whole came to naught when the King's navy sent ships to pen them by sea while General Wightman dispersed their forces on land. The leaders took refuge in the western isles and at a later date escaped to Spain.

In spite of the fact that a majority of the people of England and a large percentage of Scotland supported George I against his enemies at home and abroad, it is not to be understood that they liked him or that he liked them.¹⁰ Argyll,

⁹ On the map of Argyllshire the island of Bute seems jammed between two tongues of land, as if to split the district of Cowal in twain. The split is where the river Ruel with its salmon water comes down to the sea. In the beautiful valley of Glendaruel lived a branch of the Campbell family at the head of Loch Riddan and from there marched Colin Campbell's forces to fight for the Pretender. The Campbells of Glendaruel take their name from their valley which in earlier days belonged to the Lamonts. The Ruel, less than a dozen miles in length, is famed for its yield of fish, while the valley on its flanks is one of the most fertile in that part of Scotland.

¹⁰ The Jacobites lost no time in lampooning George I and made special play on his German mistress, Lady Darlington, who apparently was fair game. Horace Walpole describes her as follows: "Two fierce black eyes, large and rolling beneath two lofty arched eyebrows; two acres of cheeks

who had saved the day at Sheriffmuir, was one who suffered the king's displeasure. From the day he returned in 1716 till the time when the mutterings of the new rebellion in 1719 reached the royal ears, John Campbell was without position or place in the government except as his indirect personal influence made itself felt. The chance of a new uprising in Scotland brought a change, however, and by the time Colin Campbell had landed and put into operation his ill-fated attempt to raise another Scottish insurrection, the second Duke of Argyll was back in the good graces of the government, and on April 30 of that year (1719) he was created Duke of Greenwich.

When George I came to reign in England he brought with him his son George Augustus, who in time became George II, but he gave the boy no sympathetic attention, perhaps because of the estrangement between the King and the mother of his children. (They had been divorced for years.) The fact that Argyll was the advisor of the son and appointed by the government to be in charge of his household in no way endeared the Campbells to the King. When the Prince of Wales and his wife set up an opposition court supported by the influence of Argyll and his friends, the breach became wider. In the House of Lords the eloquence of Argyll was on the side of the Tory party which was supporting the Prince

spread with crimson; an ocean of neck and bosom that overflowed, and was not distinguished from the lower part of her body, and no part restrained by stays." Sang the Jacobites in one of their scandalous ballads:—

"Its Geordie's now come hereabout,
O wae light on his sulky snout!
A pawky sow has found him out
and turned her tail to Geordie.
The sow's tail is till him yet,
A sow's birse will kill him yet,
A sow's tail is till him yet,
A sow's tail to Geordie.

Jacobite Songs and Ballads

and against Horace Walpole, the leader of the Whigs, who supported the King.

On one issue John Campbell lived to see himself vindicated fully. The South Sea Company was chartered at that time for the purpose of developing the slave trade in African blacks and for other speculative purposes. The trading in the stock of this company was of a character to remind us of many historical booms and the leaders of the Whig party participated to a scandalous extent. Against this Argyll set all possible strength, but to no avail. The speculation ran its natural course and Argyll was one of those called upon to help pick up the wreckage of the burst bubble. The outcry against those who had organized and led the company was loud and execution was purposed for some of them, but there were no beheadings. John Campbell emerged with the office of Chief Steward of the Household, which put him back into a governmental position of influence, and from there he went forward on an erratic political course which became more and more unpredictable. His brother Archibald, who was the steadier of the two, was in later years the man relied upon by the government for advice and service in Scottish affairs, while John Campbell continued to serve in its military establishment. In June 1725, he was made Master General of Ordnance; in 1731, governor of Portsmouth, in January, 1735, Field Marshal of the forces. Trouble developed in Scotland as dissatisfaction with the Union became more vocal.¹¹ From

¹¹ Among those that suffered from the violence which developed in this argument was Daniel, or Donald, Campbell, who owned the Shawfield Mansion in Glasgow and represented Inveraray in Parliament from 1702 till the Union and signed the treaty. He sat in the first Parliament for Great Britain and represented Glasgow from 1716 to 1734. In 1725 a mob that resented his vote for the malt tax entered his home and demolished the interior. He was awarded 9000 pounds compensation from the city, it having been shown that the provost and magistrates favored the mob. Campbell purchased the Island of Islay soon afterwards for 12,000 pounds. He died at 82, the father of three sons and four daughters.

1713 onward the collection of the malt tax had been waived in Scotland but it was still collected in England. The English maltsters complained at the unfairness of a tax that collected 750,000 pounds from them and nothing from the Scots. When in 1724 an attempt was made to collect the Scottish tax the government was faced with riots in the principal cities. Archibald was dispatched to Edinburgh where he put down the malcontents with a strong hand and broke up the combination of brewers opposing the tax; from that day forward Archibald Campbell was strongly favored by Walpole and handled affairs in Scotland for the Whig government,

“his influence being so great that he received the name of the King of Scotland. In this position he did much to increase its trade and manufacture and improve its internal communication. As chancellor of Marischal College, Aberdeen, he took an active interest in the furtherance of the higher education of the country and he also encouraged the Edinburgh school of medicine, then in its infancy.”¹²

It was at this time that the Black Watch was organized as a home guard to overcome cattle stealing in the Highlands, and to keep an eye on the Jacobites. Six companies were raised; commanders of three of them were Campbells—Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab, John Campbell of Carrick—and when later the Black Watch developed into a regiment of the Line, the Campbells continued to serve with full distinction. Each company at first was stationed in a different part of the Highlands. When finally the six companies of the Watch were brought together it was necessary to adopt one pattern of tartan. The Colonel, Earl of Crawford (Cruford), being a Lowlander, had no tartan. The three companies representing northern clans had too bright a red to be chosen and Crawford, who had been

¹² *Dictionary of National Biography.*

educated at Inveraray by the Earl of Argyll, favored the Campbell colors. In order to make a compromise of the various Campbell designs, he took out the distinguishing stripes of yellow, white, and red which appear in the various plaids of the Campbells. He then had left the blue and green background common to the Campbells of Argyll, Breadalbane, Cawdor, Loudoun and their close relatives the MacArthurs. Thus came the dark plaid of the Black Watch which, because of its color, put the word "black" into the name. "The Argyll and Sutherland regiment has changed the Black Watch plaid, putting the green bar out in the pleat while the other put the blue."¹³

And so the year 1741 arrived, with the two leading Campbells in opposition to each other, with Argyll holding the upper hand for the moment and the Jacobites again stirring. The final attempt to put the Stuarts back on the throne of England was in the making.

Ten thousand veteran French soldiers were assembled at Dunkirk; and Marshall Saxe, a Protestant, was given command of the proposed invasion of England. James III was again declared the rightful King of Great Britain, with his son, The Young Pretender, as Regent; proclamations in the usual form were addressed to the people of Great Britain and Lord Lovat was chosen Jacobite lieutenant for the northern coun-

¹³ J. G. McKay, *The Romantic Story of the Highland Garb and the Tartan*.

Many Americans will remember seeing the Black Watch in 1917 when it came to the United States to encourage greater participation in the first World War. I stood on a street corner in Hartford, Connecticut, watching them parade and the urge to join up was terrific. The old Campbell tradition must have called me, for at that time I had no knowledge of the connection between the regiment and the Clan Campbell. When I returned to my office and told our Scottish office manager of the stir which the parade had given me, he said: "It's a gude thing they didna know yer name is Campbell or they would ha' ta'en ye by force. The Black Watch is the Campbell's ain."

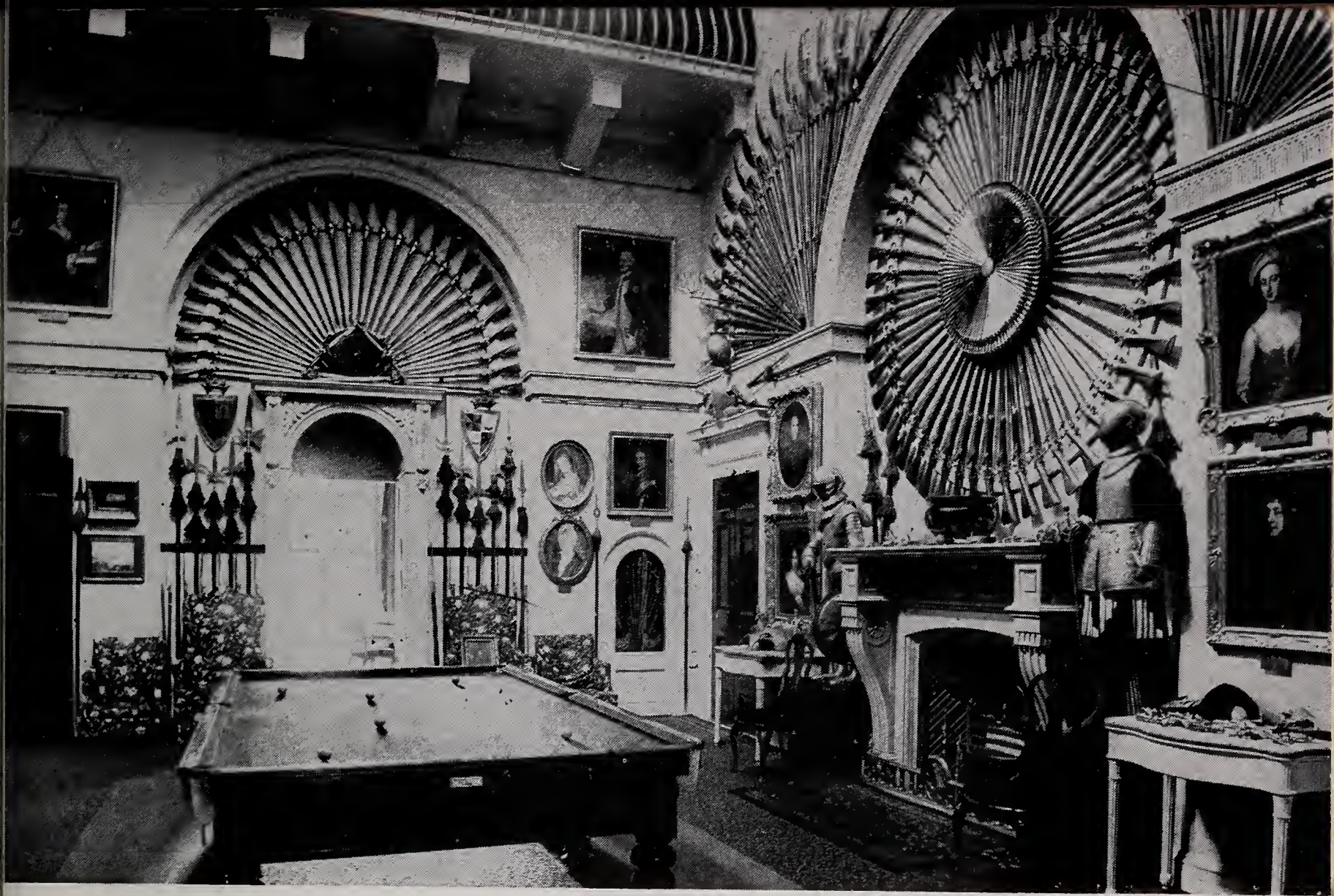
ties of Scotland. The banner of the Stuarts was again unfurled.

In London all political parties united for the defense of Great Britain. Argyll coined the phrase "Broad-bottom Ministry," and a move was made to consolidate the government by uniting all factions in its support. War was declared on France and fortunately, when the French sailed from Brest February 17, 1744, with twenty-two transports to bring their army across the Channel, that ever vigilant ally of Great Britain, the weather, responded with the usual hurricane; twelve of the transports were destroyed and the rest returned battered to the French port. The proposed invasion was called off and the Scottish Jacobites bided their time.

The British in their turn carried the war to the Continent, and the Black Watch proved its ability to handle major military responsibility by taking the famous French redoubt at Fontenoy, their first action in large-scale organized military operations. It was a brave day for the regiment but a sad one for the Campbells. The Watch lost many good men, including Captain John Campbell of Carrick, whose head was struck off by a cannon ball early in the action; Ensign Lochlane Campbell of Craignish and thirty of his men; Captain Robert Campbell of Finab; Ensigns Robert Campbell, nephew of Craignish, and James Campbell, son of Glenfalloch. The famous "Jemmy" Campbell,¹⁴ hero of Malplaquet and general of the cavalry on this day, bled to death when his leg was struck off by a cannon ball.

In October of 1745 the rebellion of the Jacobites had reached such proportions that the Highlanders were ordered home and were employed along with three new companies raised among the Whig clans to protect the island against in-

¹⁴ His father was James Campbell, 2nd Earl of Loudoun, his mother Margaret Montgomery daughter of Hugh, 7th Earl of Eglinton. His son, James Mure Campbell, became 5th Earl of Loudoun and father of Flora, Countess of Loudoun.



Valentine

THE ARMORY AT INVERARAY

The visitor to Inveraray Castle enters through this room. The decorations over the door and the fireplace are muskets brought home by the Campbells from Culloden Field in 1745.

The Castle walls are lined with beautifully painted portraits of famous Campbell men and women, each of whom had a part in the history of the family. Niall Diarmid Campbell, the tenth Duke, an outstanding authority on Campbell history, is generous with his time in conducting visitors through the Castle if he finds them genuinely interested. When General Dwight Eisenhower and his party were viewing the various paintings, the Duke pointed out to them a Campbell of Lochnell. The Duke explained that here was the man who had much to do with the raising of the Black Watch.

Up spoke an American officer. "Hell," he said, "I thought the Black Watch was a nigger regiment." In the ensuing silence Eisenhower looked meaningly at the Duke and winked. The latter accepted the apology and proceeded with the tour of the Castle.

There is a canopied bed downstairs in which all the Dukes die. As they get old and are unable to negotiate the stairs to the upper rooms they begin sleeping in the bed chamber on the main floor of the castle. Eventually they come to the end of their days in that room.

Among the treasures in the castle is a large library, well selected and well used by the present Duke. Also among the heirlooms are the eyeglasses of Napoleon, found in his carriage, captured at Waterloo. Fancy work done by Mary Stuart while visiting her Campbell brother-in-law at Inveraray, is another of the treasures found in the castle.

vasions. Because they had so many relatives among the Jacobite forces they were not used in the Highlands but kept in England. The new companies were recruited among the Murrays, the MacKintoshes and the Campbells of Breadalbane; among the officers was Campbell of Iverawe, who commanded a company; while the subalterns included John Campbell of Glenelyon and Dugald Campbell. Ensigns were John Campbell of Glenfalloch and Allan Campbell of Barcaldine. The government had the undisputed support of the Campbells in the rising of 1745; there was no family split as there had been in the rising of 1715. John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudoun, who had been made Governor of Stirling Castle in 1741 and aide-de-camp to the King in 1743, raised a regiment of Highlanders when the rebellion broke out and joined General John Cope as Adjutant-General.

In 1745 the Prince landed on the west coast of Scotland and moved at once to Perth, where he was joined by Lord George Murray, who had been "out" with the Jacobites in 1715 and 1719. Opposed to him was Sir John Cope, Commander-in-chief for Scotland, with about 3000 men.

A grand ball was given at Holyrood House after the Pretender had been proclaimed James VIII at the Market Cross of Edinburgh (September 17, 1745), and given a rousing welcome by the people of that city.

The next day Cope's army approached the city with six cannon served by naval gunners, a handful of Lowlanders and 200 of Lord Loudoun's Campbells. On the 20th the Prince's army moved out to meet Cope and rushed him in usual Highland style. The naval gunners ran away, the dragoons never paused to fire a shot, while the infantry was dispersed in less than thirty seconds. Only the Loudoun Campbells who formed the baggage guard stood fast, and they became prisoners of war. This battle, called Prestonpans, cost Cope his whole army and the Highlanders less than half a

hundred men. Cope galloped off to Berwick, while Loudoun, who had avoided capture, proceeded northward.

The effect of Prestonpans¹⁵ was not exactly what the Jacobites had expected. The English Jacobites who had seen such winning flurries before, followed by reverses, decided to bide their time, and no one "came out." The Whig leaders, on the other hand, used the dangerous situation as a spur to recruiting, while bishops with visions of the return of Catholicism exhorted their congregations to support King George. General Wade marched north with 10,000 troops fresh from France, and by October 25th had reached Newcastle to support the King; Ligonier, with thirteen regiments also moved north. London rose almost to a man to defend the city against a Jacobite invasion. John Campbell, immediately after Prestonpans, had enrolled 2000 men. He raised the siege of Fort Augustus and blockaded the Frasers under Lord Lovat. After a disastrous attempt to invade England the Jacobite forces retired to the north with the hope of raising reinforcements and made headquarters at Moy Hall, owned by the MacKintoshes, twelve miles from Inverness. Lord Campbell, with about 800 men, spent the winter on the Isle of Skye.

The King's army, under the command of the King's son, the Duke of Cumberland—then only 25 years of age—came up with the rebels near Inverness. He had about 7000 foot soldiers, 900 dragoons and 600 Argyll Campbells, all well armed and provisioned.¹⁶ By the middle of April the Jacobite army

¹⁵ The Jacobite leaders headed troops as follows, according to the published list circulated by the Pretender in November after Prestonpans: Cameron of Lochiel, 740; Stuart of Ardshiel, 360; Lord George Murray of Athol, 1000; Clanranald of Clanranald, 200; Macdonald of Keppoch, 400; Macdonald of Glencoe, 200; Lord Olgivie, 500; Gordon of Glenbucket, 427; Duke of Perth, 750; Robertson of St. Rowan, 200; Machlachlan of Machlachlan, 260; Macgregor of Glencarnick, 300; Macdonald of Glengary, 300; Lord Nairn, 200; John Roy Stuart, 450; Miscellaneous Foot, 1000; Horse (Lord Elcho, Lord Kilmarnock, Lord Petsligo), 300; Total force, 7587 men.

¹⁶ The Argyll Campbells were equipped with an early model of the famous Brown Bess, the weapon used by Wellington throughout his cam-

was drawn up on Culloden Moor expecting attack although not yet ready for it. The force of the Jacobites was depleted by the departure of foraging parties, and by the time the battle was joined they were down to about 5000 men, while the Duke had 8000 men and a strong force of artillery. For about half an hour the two armies faced each other exchanging cannon fire, the better guns of the King's forces making deadly havoc in the ranks of the Jacobites. Finally the galled Highlanders rushed the enemy line and did what they could, which was not enough to win the day. The Campbells, being stationed on the flank, broke upon the attacking line and poured a heavy musket fire upon the Highlanders. In less than an hour after the firing began the Prince's cause was lost; the King's forces advanced, and the Prince fled for his life. Never again did the Jacobites raise their hands against the government.

The Jacobites were bound to lose eventually, for the cards were stacked against them. It was fortunate for the King, however, that the swords of the MacDonalds were sheathed that day. For some reason that body of men, who had proved on many occasions their ability to break the enemy line, had not been placed in their usual position on the right of the army; a position which they considered the place of honor and from which they had broken the opposition in every Jacobite battle from Sheriffmuir on. The MacDonalds refused to move at Culloden and so saved many a good life. But the Jacobites would have lost in the long run, MacDonalds or no.

The "clean up" job was turned over to the Campbells. The searching force under Campbell received intelligence that the

paings, except that this model was a heavier example, of honest but rough English workmanship. The guns were brought back to Inveraray by the returning Campbell forces and stored in the castle. When the central hall burned the stocks were all burned off. The guns were sent to England for rehabilitation and all but eight proved to be serviceable. See Lord Archibald Campbell, *Notes on Swords from the Battlefield of Culloden*.

Prince had fled to the outer fringe of islands and a hunt began that lasted for months. One of the first places searched was St. Kilda, remotest of the outer Hebrides:

“The inhabitants (of St. Kilda) who had little commerce with the world than by paying their rent each year in Solan geese feathers answered, they had never heard of such a person. There was rumor they said that their Laird Macleod had been at war with some great king and had got the better, which was all they knew of the World’s transactions.”¹⁷

The Prince was forced to keep constantly on the move as the Campbell searching party, assisted by the Fergusons, went from place to place making inquiries, searching buildings and interrogating witnesses. A number of suspects were picked up and when they refused to talk, they were shipped off to prison to punish them and, it was hoped, intimidate their friends and families. Among them was Flora MacDonald, who furnished the Prince with a full outfit of women’s clothes and traveled with him for a time to allay suspicion. She was returned without harm in July 1747, when many other prisoners were released.

The Jacobite Highlanders stood by their men and the Campbells, to their chagrin, failed to find this major prize of all the long Campbell years. Charles was finally rescued by a boat that picked him up and took him to France; and the rewards that would have accrued to the searching party passed into the limbo of things reached for but never grasped. It was better so. No one knows what the repercussions might have been had Charles been taken and made a martyr. There was enough ill feeling against the Campbells as it was.

The second Duke of Argyll did not live to see the demise of the Jacobite cause. He grew querulous in his latter days

¹⁷ *The Young Chevalier*. Printed for W. Webb in London in 1765. This rather rare book gives a complete story of the Young Pretender’s adventures in flight.

and quarreled with most of his friends. On October 4, 1743 he died. Said the poet Pope:

“Argyll, the State’s whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the Senate and the Field.”

He married twice. His first wife, a niece of the Lord Mayor of London, was buried in Westminster Abbey. This marriage was childless. His second wife, who was one of the maids-in-waiting of Queen Anne, bore him five daughters. He was succeeded by his brother, the Earl of Islay, who was already a man of proved ability.

Those Campbells who have read Sir Walter Scott’s romance, *The Heart of Midlothian*, are familiar with the story of John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll, and his family of daughters. Scott, according to all accounts, “painted the lily” somewhat in his novel and gave to the Duke more than his full measure of dignity and renown. However, when John Campbell was laid to rest in Westminster Abbey among the other heroes of the Empire he was not out of place.¹⁸

¹⁸ A memorial to him in the Abbey by Roubillac may be seen. In the will of Sir Henry Farmer 500 pounds was left to provide for its execution, but this proved only about one third enough and the Duchess paid the balance. In Inveraray Castle there is a painting of him in his Garter robes by Allan Ramsay.

CHAPTER XVI

Napoleon Slips Through the Campbell Fingers

ABOUT TWENTY MILES southwest of Inveraray and not far from the village of Kilmartin, a headland projects from the north into Loch Crinan. Here in 1390 Duncan Campbell, son of Colin, Knight of Lochow, established the branch of the family known as the Campbells of Duntroon.¹ Here was built the ancient, baronial fortalice known as the Castle of Turrets, which was one of the strongest of Campbell strong points. In fact the MacDonalds, who feared neither man nor devil when on the warpath, turned aside when invading the Campbell country under left-handed Coll MacDonald, to leave it strictly alone. The March of Duntroon Castle—"Dearest Coll, shun the tower, shun the tower"—is a tribute to the designer of a fortification so well built from a defense standpoint that a few Campbells in those days could stand off an army.

The Campbells of Duntroon and the Campbells of Glenorchy were especially close in their mutual relations, and the heir to the Breadalbane title was traditionally fostered at Duntroon. An equally close friendship was maintained with the branches of Melfort and Dunstaffnage, and it was customary for a dead laird of any of the three to be carried to his grave by the other two—one at the head and one at the foot.

From the Campbells of Duntroon came many a man who

¹Not to be confused with Dunoon on the west shore of the Firth of Clyde, where the Campbells at one time held the Castle of Dunoon, which is now dismantled. The stones were used as building material for near-by cottages.

made his mark for his country, and of these the last son of the line, General Patrick Campbell, was representative. He died August 29, 1857, after a lifetime in the service of the Empire. However, it fell to another son of Duntroon to participate in one of the most dramatic episodes of history and what he did, or failed to do, influenced the destiny of nations to an extent given to few men. This man was Sir Neil Campbell, sent by the British government to Elba to watch over Napoleon during his first exile.

Neil Campbell, born May 1, 1776, was a Campbell on both sides. His mother was Jean Campbell of Blandfield, daughter of a younger son of Campbell of Craignish, the latter a soldier under the Duke of Cumberland against Prince Charles in 1745. Neil entered the Army when he was twenty-one years of age and in February 1813, after various campaigns and promotions, was assigned to the staff of Lord Cathcart, ambassador to Russia. It had been arranged that Lord Cathcart should accompany the Emperor of Russia and the Imperial armies in the campaign then in progress against Napoleon, and Sir Neil Campbell, with the rank of colonel, also took the field.

He was not content to be merely a liaison officer; when battle was joined he was in the midst of the melee, and on at least one occasion led a Russian cavalry charge. In recognition of his exploits the Russian government conferred upon him the Orders of St. George and St. Anne, and his popularity with his friends, the Cossack horsemen, increased, especially in the regiment from which he drew his escort and orderlies.

Late in March the Russians attacked a detachment of French troops, and surrounded the survivors of the engagement. Colonel Campbell, riding up with the Cossacks, saw that the French would all be exterminated if they continued to resist, and called upon them in their own language to surrender. Another detachment of Cossacks coming up at the moment

and seeing an officer in a strange uniform speaking French, mistook him for an enemy. Sir Neil Campbell received a lance thrust in the back which unhorsed him, and while on the ground was struck a blow on the head with a sword. Only quick work by a Russian officer saved him. Later, stern measures were necessary to prevent a clash between the unit of Cossacks to which he was attached and the unit that had cut him down.

In spite of his wounds Colonel Campbell arrived in Paris on April 9 about nine days after its occupation by the Allies and was at hand two days later when word was received that Napoleon had surrendered. The Empire built with blood and tears by the Great Conqueror had crashed when France could no longer feed the huge war machine which for twenty-five years had swallowed her men and her treasure. Napoleon was compelled to accept the terms of the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

Few realize how amazingly lenient these terms were, considering the terrible price the Emperor had forced friends and foes to pay for his glory. We tend to think of Elba as a prison camp where he languished behind bars like a caged eagle, but the truth is very different. Napoleon went to Elba still an Emperor, with all his titles, and those of his family intact; he was granted Elba as a separate principality, with its own flag and its own government of which he was head, with all the revenues of the island to spend as he pleased, in addition to a pension of 2,000,000 francs a year from the French government. All his debts and obligations were discharged and he was permitted to maintain an armed force of whatever proportions he could raise on the island and to take with him a force of volunteers as his guard with proper officers (750 actually went). He was also furnished with a ship which was his personal property and sailed under his orders; in it he could cover the seven miles to the mainland at will, for sup-

plies or any other purpose. Except that his domain had shrunk to an island nineteen miles long and six miles wide, within it Napoleon was just as important and just as much in authority as the ruler of any other country in the world, and with as many rights, including foreign travel. By the treaty of Fontainebleau, Elba was declared to be the residence of the Emperor, but not a word was said about his staying there eternally. It would seem that the Allies were more concerned with the immediate elimination of their tormentor than with the eventualities which a longer view might well have brought to their minds.

Under the treaty a guard of 1200 to 1500 men was provided to escort Napoleon to his port of embarkation on the coast of southern France, and commissioners were appointed by the Allies to accompany him. Sir Neil Campbell was the representative of the British Government; he accepted the appointment even though his wounds made the task a dubious one from the standpoint of his health.² He was authorized to continue on to Elba as an observer, if Napoleon was willing. This proved to be very much the case, because of the Emperor's fear of the pirates of Barbary who roamed the Mediterranean and might seize him for ransom or rob him of his property. Until the time approached for the escape, Campbell was treated with courtesy at all times. However, he had no part in directing affairs on the island and no supervision over Napoleon's coming and going. Says Norwood Young in *Napoleon In Exile at Elba*:

"The position of Campbell at Elba was anomalous. He was British Resident but without powers, and his only duty was to make communications. . . . He was at Elba, as Napoleon knew perfectly well, to watch the Emperor's conduct and to report

²In the well known painting by Vernet entitled "Les Adieux de Fontainebleau" the wounded man with his head bandaged and his hat in his hand is Sir Neil Campbell. The picture is not accurate, for Sir Neil says in his Journal that his arm was in a sling at Fontainebleau.

any sign of an intention on his part to disturb the peace of Europe. . . . There were real dangers from corsairs or other assassins or kidnappers arriving by sea. . . . The presence of Campbell carried an implied assurance that in case of attack of this kind the British navy would come to the assistance of Napoleon."

Sir Neil Campbell's journal, published under the title *Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba*, shows Napoleon as not personally brave in facing the French people after his surrender. When the mob hurled stones at his carriage during the trip to the seacoast, he changed clothes with his attendants and rode ahead with the guard in order that he should be unnoticed. When he asked one of his visitors what he (the visitor) would do under his circumstances and received the reply "blow my brains out," Napoleon replied:

"Yes, I can do that; but those who wish me well would not be benefitted, and it would give pleasure to those who wish me ill."

On the 27th of April, 1814, at Fréjus, in Southern France, Sir Neil Campbell boarded the English frigate, the "Undaunted," with the Emperor, who, by his own imperious demand, was received with the royal salute of 21 guns. In fact Napoleon refused to board till the salute had been arranged for, and in order to avoid delay, Campbell was forced to request the captain to comply. The Russian and Prussian commissioners boarded the ship with their charge, but took leave before it weighed anchor and left the chief warmaker of Europe in the hands of Campbell, who wrote in his journal:

"Throughout the voyage Napoleon conducted himself with the greatest condescension and cordiality toward us all. He remarked himself that he had never felt in better health, and officers of his suite observed that they had never seen him appear more at his ease. It seemed to me that one great source of his happiness and satisfaction arose from the security of his person; for it was evident, during his stay at Fontainebleau, and the following

journey, that he entertained great apprehensions of attacks upon his life, and he certainly exhibited more timidity than one would have expected from a man of his calibre."

It was Campbell's belief as recorded in his journal that even on the way to Elba, Napoleon was dreaming dreams and seeing visions. He wrote:

"He inadvertently gave frequent proofs in his subsequent conversations on board the "Undaunted" of the active restlessness of his disposition and indicated his expectation of opportunities arising, which would once again afford scope for the exercise of his ambition."

And so with the eagle already flapping his wings the frigate arrived off Porto Ferrajo, Elba, on May 4, 1814, and at about 8 o'clock the next morning Napoleon landed by boat, wearing his greatcoat and round hat, and accompanied by Campbell and several others. On the way across the harbor he remarked that he was without a sword and inquired whether the peasants were addicted to assassination. By May 6 Napoleon was planning to establish a sea battery on the heights opposite the citadel and to build a tower on a rock at the mouth of the harbor. In making his survey of his new "empire" Napoleon was always accompanied by some of the French soldiers he had brought with him. Says Campbell:

"After surveying the scene for some time he turned around to me and smiled; then shaking his head observed, 'My island is very little.' "

The Emperor laid his final surrender at Fontainebleau to the desertion of Marmont, the marshal who commanded the corps which covered the whole front of the army. The night before the desertion, as Napoleon told Campbell one evening, Marmont had assured him that he would be responsible for his division of the army, and the next day he surrendered 8000 infantry, 3000 cavalry and 60 pieces of cannon. For three

hours after dinner one night, "Napoleon talked of the campaign, the surrender, the incapacity of the Bourbons, the antipathy of the French nation to them, and continued the conversation with great agitation of manner until midnight, having been for three hours on his legs." He spoke with confidence of his own troops, especially the Old Guard, and compared the troops of the Allies unfavorably to them.

"Tell me, Combell, frankly," he said, "is it not true?"⁴

Sir Neil Campbell replied that while he had never seen the Guard, everyone spoke of the Emperor and his Guards as something to be dreaded as more than human, while the Allies had no confidence in themselves or in one another. Sir Neil however, requested that in his indictment of the Allies the Duke of Wellington and his army be excepted; an observation that might well have been taken carefully to heart had the Emperor been asking, at the moment, anything but rhetorical questions.

Napoleon was constantly in search of information on political developments and military affairs in the countries involved in his abdication. When he learned that 25,000 of Wellington's army had been sent to America he expressed the opinion that the British were intent upon taking Florida and Louisiana and perhaps on subjugating the United States entirely; for such a force could not be intended merely to oblige the Americans to make peace. Whereupon Sir Neil remarked that in the surrender of Napoleon the Americans had lost their best friend.

The private funds brought to Elba by Napoleon were soon exhausted and by November 1814 Campbell was writing his government:

"If pecuniary difficulties press upon him much longer, so as to

⁴ See Sir Neil Campbell's *Journal Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba* in which he spelled the name as shown evidently to indicate the pronunciation given it by Napoleon.

prevent his vanity from being satisfied by the ridiculous establishment of a court which he has hitherto supported in Elba, and if his doubts are not removed, I think he is capable of crossing over to Piombino⁵ with his troops or any other eccentricity. But if his residence in Elba and his income are secured to him, I think he will pass the rest of his life here in tranquillity."

The terms of the treaty allowing Napoleon 2,000,000 francs from the revenues of France were never fulfilled. Finally he was in desperate straits—Napoleon, the Emperor, had not even a loose franc, not a ring or any other personal possession that he could bestow as a gift to a friend or follower. He forced an advance payment of taxes from the people of the Island, although it took such heroic measures as quartering troops on them to do it; and still he was penniless.

A close-up of Napoleon under adversity was not flattering to him:

"I notice . . . the character and conduct of this extraordinary man in his new situation, which do not seem to have altered the least by change of circumstances. The more he is brought upon a level of others, and the more opportunities of observing him, the more unfavorably does he appear."

By summer all on the Island were well sick of their bargain. The natives found they had picked up an added burden for their shoulders without the recompense they had expected; the soldiers of the guard who had volunteered found the service very boring, while even Campbell, the friend and protector, was received with more and more coldness as Napoleon developed an increasingly formal court and began receiving suspect visitors from the mainland.

In the meantime agents favorable to Napoleon were captured on the mainland; the documents in their possession and their own confessions showed that they had been plotting. Next, a corsair from Tunis entered the harbor and established

⁵ Piombino was on the mainland only seven miles away.

himself on an amicable footing for the purpose, Campbell thought, of maintaining secret communication with Napoleon's friends. At last Campbell came definitely to the opinion that the Emperor was planning to escape and he felt that warning should be given the Powers. He crossed to the mainland and had an interview with M. Hyde de Neuville, an agent of the French government.

"I distinctly pronounced to him my opinion that Napoleon was not sufficiently watched; that I had no means of preventing him from escaping; that he was still of a most restless disposition; that discontented persons of an adventurous spirit from France and Italy frequented Elba. I even supposed it possible to him that a conspiracy might be formed in Napoleon's favor at Toulon . . . and that the first intelligence might be his being in possession of that important place and the fleet."

As a result of this interview two frigates were dispatched to cruise about Elba, which was something like sending two slow crows to watch and confine the actions of a lively king bird. On February 16 Campbell sailed for the Mainland on H.M.S. "Partridge," in order to visit a physician at Florence in regard to a developing deafness, caused, he believed, by his wounds of the previous year. The captain, who agreed to keep a sharp lookout in the meantime, agreed to meet him with the ship at Leghorn ten days later. At Florence the British representatives were inclined to be complacent. The Undersecretary of State, Cook, said to him:

"When you return to Elba you may tell Bonaparte that he is quite forgotten in Europe; no one thinks of him now."

When Campbell returned to meet his ship at Leghorn, according to schedule, rumors were about that Napoleon had quitted Elba. Upon questioning the Captain of the Partridge, suspicious circumstances were recalled, and they agreed that the escape was probably under way. Captain Ayde, of the "Partridge," under instructions from the Navy to assist

Campbell in every way, proceeded to search for the fugitive under Campbell's orders to intercept him if possible and, in case of the slightest resistance, to destroy the force and take Napoleon. The first place visited was of course Elba, to learn for certain whether or not the nest was empty. Proceeding to the Island, Campbell landed by boat, with the agreed arrangement that if he failed to return within two hours the captain would know that he was forcibly detained.

On Elba the inhabitants said that on February 26th, at 9 P.M. Napoleon had embarked and the flotilla had put under way using sweeps and boats. The wind failed however, and on the following day the sails were still in sight till mid-afternoon. Campbell at once sent off a messenger by boat to Leghorn with dispatches to advise the governments of Europe of their peril and then on his own account began a hunt for the fugitive, whom he was determined to take alive if he could, but dead if he must.

It was Sir Neil's guess, as shown by his journal, that Napoleon would land in southern France or Italy and consequently he made sail at once in that direction. The Emperor at the time of his escape had available the pick of four armed vessels of his own and seventeen employed by the Elba mines in hauling iron ore. When he sailed away his flotilla consisted of seven ships carrying about one thousand men, over half of whom were hard-bitten veterans of his Old Guard who had followed him through thick and thin for years and certainly were ripe for any desperate encounter.

The French and English warships supposed to be on guard were out of sight. The next day the wind was very light and the chase lagged. A day later a British ship on its way from Genoa was hailed and Campbell was informed that his dispatch had been received and troops put in motion to intercept the fugitive.

By the 7th of March a British ship was encountered, and

the pursuers learned that at midday, March 1, Napoleon had landed on the coast of France near Antibes and being unable to get possession of the place, had marched into the interior. Campbell's over-water chase had ended fruitlessly, and the Battle of Waterloo was in the making.

As soon as Campbell learned for certain that Napoleon had gotten away he set out post haste for home, and on April 1 arrived in London, where he interviewed Lord Castlereagh and the Prince Regent at Carlton House. Neither the Prince nor Castlereagh were disposed to blame him for Napoleon's escape; the latter declared in the House of Commons that nothing Campbell could have done would have made any difference. Looking at the situation from a span of more than one hundred years it would seem that not only had he done all he could to prevent the escape but that ordering one vessel to pursue seven ships well protected with cannon and loaded with one thousand desperate men armed with muskets was bordering on foolhardy rashness.

Nevertheless among the military men of Europe there was a feeling that Neil Campbell had been found incapable, so much so in fact that:

"The ministers considered it necessary to yield to them . . . (and) not give me an appointment as Military Correspondent at the headquarters of any of the Allied armies . . . my presence might excite irritating discussions with me upon this subject, the risk of which it were better to avoid."

Whereupon Sir Neil asked to be returned to his regiment, then in Belgium under the Duke of Wellington. Arriving at Brussels June 15, 1815, he soon found himself caught in the turmoil of battle and viewed Waterloo from the headquarters of the Duke's army. His own regiment was held in reserve for the protection of Brussels and was not engaged in the battle. On the 19th of June he was sent to command the light companies of the 35th, 54th, 39th and 91st regiments brigaded

together, with one or two grenadier companies and an additional regiment in support. This force led the advance of the army into France and Campbell led the troops that took Cambray by assault. This action resulted in his being made a Companion of the Bath by his own sovereign, and a Knight of St. Vladimir by the Emperor of Russia.

Napoleon, who claimed to Sir Neil that he had commanded in 85 battles and 600 engagements, went to St. Helena, this time with a British guard to watch him. Sir Neil, suffering from the after-effects of the Cossack lance-thrust into his lungs, was invalided home; after a period of recuperation he again asked for service.

Finally the Government offered Sir Neil the governorship of Sierra Leone, on the West Coast of Africa, known as the white man's graveyard. In spite of protests from family and friends he took the place, and on August 14, 1827, died from the effects of the evil climate.⁶

⁶ Major General Sir Neil Campbell (1776-1827), son of Captain Neil Campbell of Duntroon married his mistress, Frances MacDonald, at St. James Church, Westminster July 16, 1826 thereby legitimizing his son James and daughter Margaret before he went to his death in Africa the following year.

By the death of his eldest brother in 1799 he succeeded to the property at Oib and sold it some five years later (Duntroon had already been sold). The son James was disowned by the Campbells of Oib and his name omitted from the biography written by Rev. G. N. Campbell Maclachlan, son of one of Sir Neil's sisters.

The widow of Sir Neil married his nephew and executor.

Sir Neil's son, James, born Nov. 25, 1825, eight months before the marriage of his parents, entered the service of the East India Company at Bombay, May 1, 1841 on the recommendation of his mother through one of the directors. He attained the rank of colonel July 6, 1872, and retired, dying in 1876. His wife, adjudged insane, lived sixteen years longer than he. His will was proved by his executrix, Sarah Atkinson, "his mistress, known as Mrs. Campbell."

Sir Neil's younger brother, Patrick Campbell, was sent to Colombia, South America, in October 1823 as one of the three commissioners to that country. On April 1, 1825, he signed in conjunction with Col. J. P. Hamilton the treaty with General Simon Bolivar, the great liberator. Patrick Campbell later became chargé d'affaires at Bogota. He held permanent rank as colonel, but served in Spain as a brigadier general.

Those who would get a first hand view of Napoleon, one of the greatest of the great generals, should read the published journal of this Campbell. His was a most unusual opportunity and he made the most of it. He not only helped make history—he wrote it down as it unfolded.

Note to Chapter XVI:

CAMPBELLS AT THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO JUNE 18, 1815

Including Sir Neil Campbell, there were thirty-two Campbells among the officers at the Battle of Waterloo. No other name appears so often on the officer list. The Smiths were second, with 23 names, while there were 17 Camerons and a like number of Frasers (2 Frazers also). Eight of the Campbell officers were wounded. The list of assignments was as follows:

R. P. Campbell, Lieut.; Aide-de-camp to Maj. Gen. F. Adam, on Wellington's staff.

Sir G. Campbell, Lieut. Colonel; Assistant Adjutant General of the Army.⁷

W. Campbell, Asst. Q.M. General of the Army.

Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B. Colonel; Commandant at Headquarters.

Colin Campbell, Major; Royal Scots (wounded).

⁷ Sir Guy Campbell was the son of Major General Colin Campbell, who had charge of Gibraltar during the most critical part of the Peninsular War. He kept the Rock well supplied and garrisoned in spite of Wellington's requisitions and by holding Tarifa kept the French from importing supplies from Morocco. The services of Colin on this tour of duty were recognized by the Crown later when his son Sir Guy was created a baronet. The latter, like his father, achieved the rank of Major General. He died serving in the West Indies.

D. Campbell, Lieut. Colonel; commanding East Norfolk or 9th Regiment.

W. Campbell, Captain; Royal Welch Fusiliers.

A. Campbell, Colonel; commanding 32nd Regiment of Foot.

Thos. Campbell, Lieut.; 40th Regiment of Foot (wounded).

John Campbell, Captain; Black Watch (42nd Foot).⁸

J. Campbell, Lieut.; 44th Regiment of Foot (wounded).

J. Campbell, Captain; 51st Regiment of Foot.

Patrick Campbell, Captain; 52nd Regiment of Foot (wounded).

Sir Neil Campbell, Major; 2nd in command of 54th Regiment of Foot.

A. Campbell, Lieut.; Adjutant, 59th Regiment of Foot.

D. Campbell, Captain; Glasgow Highlanders (71st Light Infantry) (wounded).

N. Campbell, Lieut.; Glasgow Highlanders (71st Light Infantry).

Neil Campbell, Captain; 2nd Highlanders (78th Regiment of Foot).

J. Campbell, Captain; Cameron Highlanders (wounded).

Neil Campbell, Captain; Cameron Highlanders (wounded).

N. Campbell, Ensign; Cameron Highlanders (wounded).

J. Campbell, Ensign; Cameron Highlanders.

Archibald Campbell, Captain; 91st Regiment of Foot.

Dugald Campbell, Captain; 91st Regiment of Foot.

A. Campbell, Captain; 91st Regiment of Foot.

⁸ John Campbell was the only captain in the entire Black Watch Regiment not wounded or killed during the fighting. Most of the Watch losses were taken at Quatre Bras on the 16th of June, 1815, 2 days before the Battle of Waterloo.

Colonel John Cameron, who was killed leading the 93rd Highlanders at the engagement of Quatre Bras, the curtain raiser to the Battle of Waterloo, was a man with an amazing inheritance of Campbell blood. His mother was Lucy Campbell and all the way back to Peter Campbell, the founder of the family, every male in the line, but one, married a girl by the name of Campbell, thus intensifying the Campbell characteristics in this son. His body was transported home on a man-of-war, he was given a magnificent funeral with over 3000 people attending, and his father was made a baronet.

According to James Grant, the following number of commissioned officers from the Clans fought in the war in Spain; 22 Buchanans, 67 Camerons, 22 Drummonds, 26 Fergusons; 49 Grahames, 41 Forbes, 90 Frasers, 96 Grants, 144 MacLeans and MacKenzies, 248 Campbells.

John Campbell, Lieut.; 91st Regiment of Foot.

Alexander Campbell, Lieut.; 91st Regiment of Foot.

A. Campbell, Lieut.; 91st Regiment of Foot.

Dugald Campbell, Paymaster; 91st Regiment of Foot.

D. Campbell, Captain; 92nd Regiment of Foot (wounded).

E. Campbell, Lieut.; 92nd Regiment of Foot.

In addition to the above named officers, a James Campbell served on the medical staff. His rank is not given.

CHAPTER XVII

The Campbells Help with a Great Accident

THE BRITISH EMPIRE is one of the world's greatest accidents. The captain, leaning over the rail of a huge Indian man and looking down on a London dock, would have said he was trading for profit in the Far East. The voyageur, paddling the reaches of far-flung North America with a canoe loaded with bales of fine furs, would have said he was trading with the Indians. Both were just what their charters called them, "adventurers," trading in their respective territories and canny experts at buying cheap and selling dear. When an interloper interfered with trade they fought him and when the natives rose up in wrath against the hard dealing of the traders they put them down with a firm hand. No matter where the Britisher traded, a soldier with a musket saw that he got none the worse of it. If the Empire accidentally developed as a by-product for the benefit and distraction of posterity it was not the affair of these adventurers or achieved through their planning. They were immersed in the details of operating the Hudson's Bay Company;⁷ the Honorable East India Company⁷ and other commercial enterprises, with probably no thought of going down to posterity as statesmen or empire builders. The Campbells did their full part in operating these far-flung enterprises both east and west.

Not the least of these venturesome projects was the Honorable East India Company that developed the greatest prize

⁷ Officially known respectively as "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading in Hudson's Bay" and "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies."

of them all—Mother India, which lay loaded with jewels, rich in gold and silver, with a population unable to defend itself effectively and all ready to be robbed. Robbed she was, and the Campbells did their full share of treasure-lifting for themselves and their government and helped teach the East the hard ways of the West in matters military and governmental.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to sail to India, and for a hundred years they reaped almost alone in this rich field. Then, the last day of the year 1600, Queen Elizabeth signed the charter which gave the East India Company the English monopoly on all trade past the Cape of Good Hope or the Straits of Magellan. Anyone sailing beyond these two tips of continents east or west was to have his ship seized and his goods confiscated. Behind the protective wall of this agreement the Company did well, although there were English interlopers to deal with as well as Dutch, Portuguese, and French, and later a second Company chartered in England. The latter proved to be a mistake however, and in 1708 the two companies were consolidated into one which grew and expanded for generations.

In the earlier years the Company acted in India without a particle of military support from the Crown. The offices, warehouses and factories were at the mercy of any passing marauder or disgruntled native chieftain and therefore an army was organized for the protection of the company; also, a sort of navy to ward off disturbance by sea-going competitors. These armed forces were recruited, officered, paid and provisioned privately under the direction of the directors and officers of the company. Service in them had nothing to do with service in the British Army, but the company army went to war just as would any other army if needed and the soldiers killed as freely as if they were nationally accredited. For 150 years there persisted this rare arrangement under which a commercial company ruled an Empire and made the

rules whereby its own commerce was regulated, although the government gradually came more and more into partnership with it.

Naturally it was impossible for such a company to govern a foreign people without some semblance of authorized standing, and so the rulers of the various political divisions of India were impressed as a "front" for the Company. They were allowed to rule the natives as long as the British were allowed to rule the rulers.

The first Campbell to go to India in the service of the Company is noted on the records in 1704 as Ensign Alexander Campbell. He served in Madras in those very early days when the Company had not yet developed its army, but maintained only a guard at each headquarters. It is believed that his force numbered about two or three dozen men and his duties could not have been onerous. His social career was of a minor order also, for it is recorded that he married a half-caste, part Portuguese and part native, to whom he left one third of his very small estate.

In describing the services rendered by the Campbells in India at a later time we are embarrassed with riches. From first to last there were 253 of them that held commissions in the Honorable East India Company and helped administer its affairs. Of these, twelve were major generals, one was a lieutenant-general and three carried the rank of full general. There were numerous colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors and captains, and a great many who held lesser stations. It was a hard, dangerous business, and many were killed by violence or by the climate, but quite a number of Campbells came through it, made India their family home, and lived there for generations.

The medical corps which served the army of the company was well staffed by Campbells, with a total of thirty-two representatives, at least two of whom reached the rank of

surgeon general. Says Sir Duncan Campbell in *Records of Clan Campbell in H.E.I.C.*:

"The many Campbells that entered the army came to it partly from association with India and partly from that love of enterprise which distinguishes the Scottish people. But there were two individuals in high position who contributed largely to the number of candidates. One was Sir Robert Campbell, Bt., who put all his own sons into the Indian Army and was sponsor for many others. He was a successful merchant of the eighteenth century in Madras, and eventually became Governor of the Company itself. The other was the Marchioness of Hastings, who came of the Clan Campbell and was the wife of the sixth Governor-General in the early days of the nineteenth century. She was, indeed, Flora Campbell, in her own right Baroness Campbell of Loudoun, Baroness Terrinzean and Mauchline, and Countess of Loudoun in the Peerage of Scotland. As Marchioness of Hastings she was considerate to all her cousins, many of whom found partners for life in the East. In fact, it was said that if one whistled or called outside Government House at Calcutta in her time (1813-1823), a red-headed Campbell or Mac would assuredly appear at the window."

Two of the four sons of the Sir Robert Campbell mentioned above rendered very distinguished service: Captain John Campbell was the envoy to Persia, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Edward Alexander Campbell, severely wounded at Baurtpore in the campaign of 1825-26, was made K.C.B. and knighted in July 1838. Sir Robert lived at Madras for many years and was a member of one of the Campbell families that adopted India as its home. At least a dozen such families migrated, of which the following are typical:

Major General Charles Campbell; served in Bengal. His son died of cholera at twenty-six.

Lieut.-Colonel John Campbell; served in Madras. Brother to above. His son was Major General Robert Byng Patricia Price Campbell. The Colonel married secondly Princess Victoria Gou-ramma of Coong, who died young. He mysteriously disappeared

while in London, and was believed to have been killed in a robbery involving the jewels of the Princess and his body disposed of by the criminals.

Major Charles Hay Campbell; served in Bengal. Had charge of gun factories for the company for eleven years. Gave three legitimate sons and one illegitimate son to the India Military Service.

Alexander Duncan Campbell; served in Madras Civil Service. Twin of above. Had a son and a grandson who were major generals, a grandson who became a brigadier general and also a grandson who served as a colonel in Burma and China.

Major Gabriel Campbell; brother of above. His son was General Napier George Campbell.

Dr. James Campbell; served in Bengal. His grandson was Major General John George Campbell. A brother of the General, James Archibald Campbell, he was murdered in the Mutiny of 1857.

Major General Charles William Campbell; served in Bengal. Married Charlotte Campbell. Their son succeeded as Ninth Earl of Breadalbane.

Major General Thomas Hay Campbell; served as superintendent of the gun carriage factory, descended from the Barbreck Campbells.

Colonel Charles Campbell; served in Madras. His son was captured, shipwrecked and commanded a regiment of cavalry for the Nawab of Carnatic. Published "Journey Overland to India." From the latter sprang a line which came to own the Campbell diamond (the Barbreck jewel).

Major Donald Campbell; served in Madras. At siege of Medura received 14 wounds but lived. Became father-in-law of Major General Francis Aiskell.

Major General George Campbell; served in Madras. Was second son of Lauchlan Campbell, who helped found Argyll township, New York. Served first in India, then in America, then back to India, where he died.²

We could go on at great length, for we have just scratched the surface so far as the Campbells in India are concerned, but this part must be cut short. Just listing the Campbells of

² See Sir Duncan Campbell, *Records of Clan Campbell in H.E.I.C.*

India with a short note on each filled a large book by Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine.

However, mention should be made of an outstanding man named Archibald Campbell, who sailed into Boston Harbor in the early days of the American Revolution and into the arms of the waiting Colonists, who clapped him into jail. He had come to America from India, where he had been Chief Engineer in Bengal and had started the great docks of Calcutta. On the way home to England he stopped in Madras and made a report on the defense there. After he quitted America, disgusted with his timid superior officer, he served for a time as governor of Jamaica, where his introduction of guinea grass was apparently his most notable achievement. From there he proceeded to India and served as governor of Madras. He was a lieutenant general at his death (March 31, 1791) and very straitlaced on moral questions, as shown by a paragraph in his will. In it he wrote:

“Should my brother Major James Campbell be so unfortunate as to connect himself with any other woman than his lawful wife, it is my positive order that he shall from that hour be struck out of my Will and Testament in the same manner as if his existence had naturally terminated. The man who is capable of injuring an amiable wife and family by such connection forfeits the character of an honest and honorable man and can have no claim to any share of my confidence or fortune.”

And now for a broader look at the problems of India and a bit of Campbell history that goes along with those problems. Spread out the map of Asia before you. If you have had rural experience you will see at once the resemblance which the great land mass bears to a cow's udder with two neatly placed teats below. The one to the left between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal is India and we can look upon it, if we wish, as a device for “milking” Asia.

But India is not to be passed off as a mere appendage to a

continent. It is half as large as the United States and has between two and three times as many people. It is split and divided by great differences in race, with over 200 languages spoken, and with extreme differences in the economic conditions under which its people live. The man who was probably the richest in the world lived in India³ while on the other hand, a roll call of the hundred million poorest people of the world would include a huge army from this part of Asia. If we would place the lower tip of India at the mouth of the Mississippi, the upper end, where the Himalaya Mountains form their huge barrier, would fall upon the Great Lakes, while from east to west the peninsula would reach from Denver, Colorado to Columbus, Ohio.

About halfway between north and south on the west coast is the city of Bombay, surrounded by the Presidency of the same name. On the east the city of Madras is about one third of the way up the coast from the tip of the peninsula, and Calcutta is farther up on the same side, where the peninsula joins Asia. Bengal surrounds Calcutta, while the Presidency of Madras runs northward along the eastern coast from the lower tip to a place about half way up.

At the lower tip of the peninsula is the Island of Ceylon—almost as large as Ireland—which at one time was ruled from Madras. It was separated from India in 1798. Lieutenant-General Sir Colin Campbell K.C.B.⁴ was at one time governor of this island.

³ Akbar, a Mogul Emperor, left behind a fortune in coined money equal to one billion dollars, plus a huge collection of gems. Another sat on a throne of solid gold set with precious stones. The Taj Mahal, built as a mausoleum for his wife by an Emperor, took twenty-three years to build and was only one of numerous buildings paid for by the people.

⁴ Sir Colin's son, Captain Alexander Campbell, served in the Bengal army 1845 to 1855 and later went to Gibraltar, where he died. Said the "Gibraltar Chronicle and Official Gazette":

"Captain Campbell having for many years been connected with Gibraltar, having been appointed Collector and Treasurer of Finance to this colony in May 1876 and since then having acted in various appointments,

Burma, with famous Mandalay on the banks of the Irrawaddy River, lies just to the east of India, across the waters of the Bay of Bengal. It was up this river valley that Sir Archibald Campbell, G.C.B., grandson of Duncan Campbell of Milntown in Glenlyon, drove the able Burma Chief, Maha Bundoola, and defeated his forces time after time, winning for the British a huge territory and for himself a barony, the rank of lieutenant general, a Parliamentary vote of thanks, a gold medal and a life income of 1000 pounds. A surprising number of Campbells have served in various capacities in Burma, Assam, China and other sections of the Far East. Here, as elsewhere, the Campbells helped develop and hold together great sources of trade and thus, without thinking too much about the outcome, helped build the British Empire.

When the British first came to India they set up factories and established settlements in the three cities, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. In fact, the importance of these places today is largely the result of the British having settled there. Little by little natives were enrolled in the guards that grew imperceptibly into an army so that by the year 1800 there were enrolled in the ranks of the Company and the English army about 25,000 Europeans and about 150,000 natives; and these forces continued to grow. We can see why the ability to master native languages was looked upon as highly important by the Campbells as they labored to perfect the armies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, and why the Company found it necessary to establish a school for officers at Addiscombe in Surrey. We can see also how this native force, taught the art of war by the English and armed by the very people who had moved in as conquerors, might one day prove

notably in those of Deputy Governor, Colonial Secretary, Captain of the Port, etc. His loss to many here will be keenly felt, for by his official courtesy and kindness in private life, he had many friends and was extremely popular with all with whom he came in contact."

a Frankenstein monster that would rise up and threaten its maker.

Commercial development and a veneer of civilization were attained, with considerable pain to the Asiatic mind. With the British came steam engines and telegraph wires and all the hustle and bustle of a more rapidly moving civilization. It did not suit the Indian style of living. The new government has been described as a combination of despotism and bureaucracy, and in some cases was guilty of out and out extortion, but it maintained order with an iron hand in Bengal and controlled the trade in muslin, silk, jute, opium, and salt-peter.

Trouble had long been brewing in Bengal. In 1756 a youth of nineteen, who had just come to the head of the native government in that province, moved with an overwhelming force against the Company settlement in Calcutta where there were only about 250 Europeans in the garrison, a similar number of civilians, and a force of about 1500 Indian native soldiers. After the first assault the Governor, together with the Commandant of the fort and many of the soldiers and civilians, left at night by way of the river. Holwell, a junior official, and the others who remained, surrendered the next day and 116 of them were packed in the hottest season of the year into a cell 18 feet by 14 feet 9 inches with two small windows. The victims were put into the cell at 8 o'clock in the evening and by morning only twenty-three were still living. One of them, a young woman, was carried off to the harem of the native general leading the attack. This was the celebrated Black Hole of Calcutta.

This uprising against the Company brought Clive into action. He moved against the Indian army and defeated it, took full control of Calcutta in 1758, and reorganized the Company's forces. From the Nawab installed by the British to replace their enemy:

"Clive received as a private donation a total of 243,000 pounds . . . the sum paid eventually . . . to the Company and private individuals . . . amounted to just over 3,388,000 pounds.⁵

The investment in India began to pay off at an early date.

About the time of the American Revolution, the government of Great Britain began taking part in the affairs of the Company in India and little by little assumed more responsibility. Warren Hastings was made governor general (the first of that title) and he, like Clive, levied on the fortunes of the native rulers. He was impeached, but acquitted. Then came Earl Cornwallis, who came down harshly upon the natives:

"in order to keep up the level of land revenues, a large number of estates were broken up and sold to recover outstanding balances, and some of the oldest and most respectable families in the country were threatened with poverty and ruin."

The British began making more and more stringent laws, and prohibited such native customs as killing female babies and suttee (burning of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres). They made the ruling Brahmans subject to the same criminal laws as other classes and developed other irritations. At the same time the growing native army was beginning to feel its own importance. As time went on India became more and more restive and the impending disaster finally descended.

On July 11, 1857, Sir Colin Campbell, then in retirement in London, received word that the commander-in-chief wished to see him. He went at once and that day wrote in his journal:

⁵ See Dunbar, *History of India*.

One of the more ghastly incidents of Campbell service in India is told by Andrew Gibb in *Scottish Empire*. It seems that a Donald Campbell, a cavalry officer in the forces of the Nawab of Arcot, was captured by Hyder Ali, who needed the services of a man like Campbell to organize his army. When the latter refused to change sides he was thrown into prison and chained to a corpse—a treatment which in due time led him to accede to his captor's wishes.

“When admitted to his Lordship (Panmure) he informed me of the death of General Anson on May 27 by cholera and of the disappearance of 30,000 sepoy from the ranks of the Bengal army . . . Thereupon he made me the offer of the command in India. I accepted at once.”

The new commander in chief for India was a self-made man and a self-made Campbell, for his name was not rightfully Campbell at all, although his mother was Agnes Campbell. His grandfather was a MacLiver of the Island of Islay, who followed Prince Charles in the uprising of 1745 and thereby lost his estate. He then moved to Glasgow where his son John was working as a carpenter when young Colin was born October 20, 1792. In school the boy was known as Colin MacLiver No. 1 because there was another boy by the same name. When he was about ten years old his mother's brother, Colonel John Campbell, put him into an academy at Gosport. At fifteen and a half years he was taken by his uncle to the Horse Guards and introduced to the Duke of York who, mistaking his real name said, “Another of the Clan,” and entered him on the lists of the army as Colin Campbell. When the boy spoke as if to make correction his uncle told him to keep the name for professional reasons, knowing full well that a Campbell would have advantages in the armed services of the crown that a MacLiver would never possess.

Colin Campbell's army service took him all over the world. He fought in Spain under Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington; was wounded, came home, and was given an assignment to America in the War of 1812. At the battle of Waterloo he was Commandant of Headquarters.

Thirty years later he was fighting in China, and in 1848 was with the army in India, where he won a K.C.B. and the thanks of Parliament. He ranked as major general in the Crimean War, where he firmly believed he had finished his

career in his early sixties. In bidding goodbye to his Highland brigade he said:

“In a few hours I shall be on board ship never to see you again as a body. A long farewell. I am now old and shall not be called upon to serve any more.”⁶

However, when his Commander-in-chief asked him how quickly he could leave for India he said “Tonight, if you wish.” Arrangements were made for him to leave the following morning. He crossed France and sailed from Marseilles, arriving at Calcutta August 13, 1857.

Campbell found India, and especially Bengal, in complete disorder. The sepoy regiments were his most important problem. The powder for charging the muskets of those days was put up in cartridges of paper greased to keep out the dampness. The ends of these cartridges were designed to be torn off by the teeth and the powder then poured down the barrel. The sepoys had been told that the grease on the cartridges was cow or hog fat which it was against their religion to put into their mouths. By the time the British provided butter for the greasing of the paper and assigned sepoys themselves to do the greasing it was too late. More than greased cartridges was involved, and the native troops were deserting their commands and murdering their officers. James Campbell, eldest son of Lieutenant-colonel John Campbell was one of those murdered at Jhans on June 6, 1857. Delhi, the capital, had fallen, and parties of soldiers and civilians were being besieged at Cawnpore and Lucknow.

British troops to quell the mutiny were almost nonexistent. Two ships carrying men to China were diverted, and un-

⁶At the capture of Ahmednugger in India Wellesley saw Colin set a ladder against a wall and although thrown down twice, go back and lead a storming party into the town. He made Campbell his aide-de-camp at once. Shadwell, *Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde*.



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SIR COLIN CAMPBELL COMMANDS THE "THIN RED LINE"

The Charge of the British Light Brigade at Balaklava is an old story to most, but few know about the Russian charge on the same day. Both ended in victory for the defenders. On that day Sir Colin Campbell was in command of his Highland Brigade consisting of the 93rd Highlanders, the 42nd (Black Watch) and the 79th. Because of galling artillery fire he had withdrawn the brigade behind the brow of a hill. Says Sir Colin in his report, "One body (of Russians) amounting to about 400, charged the 93rd Highlanders, who immediately advanced to the crest of the hill on which they stood, and opened their fire, forcing the Russian cavalry to turn." Said the General Order four days later, "The Major-General had such confidence in this distinguished regiment that he was satisfied that it should receive the charge in line, and the result proved that his confidence was not misplaced."

The Highland bonnet Sir Colin wore at this battle and thereafter through the Crimean campaign came as a result of the earlier victory of Alma, at which his Highlanders forced a strong Russian entrenchment. When Lord Raglan, the Commander in Chief, thanked him personally for the good work, Sir Colin asked that as a reward he be allowed to wear the bonnet, and this was granted. In his old age Sir Colin relieved Lucknow and saved India for the British Empire. He was given high honors including the title of Lord Clyde.

He was not really a Campbell, although his mother was Agnes Campbell, but was descended from a branch of the MacLivers of Islay Island who followed Prince Charles in 1745 and thereby lost their estates. He was enrolled in the British Army under the sponsorship of his mother's brother, Colonel John Campbell. The Duke of York, mistaking his real name, said, "Another of the clan!" and entered him on the lists as Colin Campbell. On the advice of his uncle he let the name stand.

In appearance he was rugged. According to contemporary writers he had curly hair that clung close to his head in whorls, "like the coat of a Highland bull." He never married.

loaded at Calcutta, and units were gathered from other parts of India wherever they could be found.

The government stores at Allahabad were found to be safe, and from there it was Sir Colin's intention to push on to relieve Cawnpore and Lucknow. Allahabad lay 809 miles up the Ganges, a month's trip by steamboat, or 503 miles by the straighter Grand Trunk road, 120 miles of which could be traveled by rail. Sir Colin soon reported:

"We are sending men forward by bullock train which takes up about 90 men daily. They travel day and night halting only two or three hours in the middle of the day."

On October 27, 1857 Sir Colin set out for Allahabad to take charge of the relief troops. On November 12 he moved toward Cawnpore with about 3800 infantry. The country around him was literally alive with well-armed bands of deserters ready to murder any British soldier or civilian they could ambush. The only reason the British got through was that the natives lacked aggressiveness when without Caucasian officers.

In addition to Sir Colin there were several Campbells who served in this campaign. Dugald, grandson of Major General Dugald Campbell, fought in seven engagements and lived to sire eight children. James Hunter Campbell commanded a battery at the siege of Delhi and was severely wounded. Robert Byng Patricia Price Campbell, later a major general, served as lieutenant and for rescuing a wounded fellow officer was recommended for the Victoria Cross. John Campbell, M.D., and John Peter Campbell were both in the relieving army as it went forward. General Patrick Grant, who served in this campaign, was another "half-Campbell." His mother was a Campbell of Duntroon.

The relief of Lucknow caught the imagination of the people of the world. Breathlessly the British awaited word of

the outcome of this race against time. The garrison sent word that by eating their horses and draft bullock they could hold out through November. Sir Colin fought and hacked his way forward, hoping against hope.

Many were the stories that came out of this campaign. For instance, the story of Jessie of Lucknow as told in *Scots Minstrelsie*.

“Jessie the wife of a corporal had been delirious with excitement. ‘At last,’ says a lady correspondent of a French newspaper, ‘she lay on the ground and fell into a profound slumber with her head resting on my lap. I, myself, could no longer resist the inclination to sleep in spite of the continual roar of cannon. Suddenly I was aroused by a wild unearthly scream close to my ear, my companion stood upright, beside me, her arms raised, and her head bent forward in the attitude of listening. A look of intense delight broke over her countenance; she grasped my hand drew me towards her and exclaimed, ‘dinna ye hear it? dinna ye hear it? ay I’m no dreaming! it’s the slogan of the Higlanders! we’re saved! we’re saved!’ ”

They thought her daft from the strain of the long siege, but her Highland ear proved true and soon all could hear the bagpipes as the troops moved in. Some accounts say that they played “The Campbells are Coming.” Sir Colin says nothing about piping in his report, but he does give us to understand that the troops were compelled to fight their way, with plenty of bullets flying around as they came. There was doubtless more shooting than piping when Lucknow was relieved.

In spite of advice that he use Lucknow as a base to reduce the country about him, Sir Colin decided to retreat at once, carrying his sick and wounded with him—a decision that proved wise as the difficulties of the situation developed. From Lucknow he removed about 600 women and children and close to 1000 sick and wounded men without loss in the face of an enemy four times his strength. He had to fight his way back to Cawnpore, where his garrison was under heavy

fire. Without doubt Sir Colin saved India for the British Empire.

Queen Victoria wrote to Lady Canning, wife of the Governor-General:

"I hope and trust dear old Sir Colin is not seriously hurt. Say everything, pray, most flattering and kind to him from us on his success, which is such a blessing."⁷

May 3, 1858 Lord Derby, First Minister to the Crown, wrote to Sir Colin that it was the desire of the Queen to raise him to the dignity of a peer of the United Kingdom. He reminded him that a Lord Campbell already sat in the House of Lords in the person of the Lord Chief Justice and asked what title he preferred. Sir Colin replied under date of June 15 that he preferred "Clyde" as a title. Later he changed his mind and suggested a change to "Lucknow," but it was too late; the patent had been issued.

By the middle of 1860 he had returned to England, where he was presented with a sword of honor at a banquet by the Common Council. In his 70th year he was made a field marshal and died with honors heaped upon him. He never married.

Today, if you visit Glasgow you will find Sir Colin's statue standing in the center of the city with that of Thomas Campbell, the poet, the two representing the family in marble dignity. In Waterloo Place in London there stands a similar reminder of the man who saved an important portion of the Empire by his organizing ability and energy. The London statue is marred and torn by missiles thrown into London by the Germans in World War II but the Field Marshal with the curly hair was certainly no more disturbed by this unseemly interruption of his solitude than were his bones in

⁷ Shadwell, *Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde*.

Westminster Abbey when a German bomb came through the roof and exploded only a few feet from his tomb.

The Campbell imprint is seen upon territory other than India. The Great Barrier Reef that runs along Australia was explored by a Captain Campbell who sailed in the ship *Deptford*. Oda Lee tells us in *Early Explorers in Australia* that Major General Lochlan Macquarie, Governor of New South Wales, was a Scot married to a Campbell. Several place names are named in honor of his wife. "Mrs. Macquarie's Chair" is a rock formation overlooking Sidney Harbor. Campbell and Macquarie islands and the Campbell and Masquarie river are also named after the couple.

Australia, New Zealand and the many islands southeast of India are filled with Campbells. They have helped develop that part of the world and have done their share to hold together the great empire that grew as a by-product of the trading and colonizing carried forward by the British people who fared forth into a new world to find better living conditions than they had at home. Theirs is a story worth the telling—someone some day should write it.

CHAPTER XVIII

A Rifle, a Bible, and a Jug of Whiskey

THE DESPERATE POVERTY of the people of Scotland during the years following the '45 rebellion is hardly credible in these days to American-born Campbells, who accept enough to eat and a comfortable shelter as a matter of course.

But in those days the only chance to be well fed and well housed was to emigrate from the Old World to the New. Fabulous tales of the Western World were filtering back to the homeland. All that was needed in America, said the returning voyagers, was a rifle, a Bible, and a jug of whiskey: the rifle to provide food and protection; the Bible as consolation for the adult and a text book for the children; the whiskey to buoy body and soul on occasion, but more than that, as a treatment for stomach ache, "summer complaint" and like ills, and especially as an anesthetic when rude frontier surgery was necessary.¹

Eighteenth-century lists of American settlers carry a large proportion of clan names, and there is hardly a list that does not mention the Campbells. They came from various parts of Argyllshire, particularly Islay from other sections of Scotland, and from the Campbell settlements of northern Ireland. From the days of Bruce, when King Robert's brother Edward invaded Ireland with the help of an impetuous general named Campbell, there had been a steady flow of the

¹ Well do I remember seeing a doctor dose one of my relatives with whiskey till his senses were dulled, before probing for a piece of steel imbedded in the patient's foot. The early settlers accepted a packing of tobacco soaked in whiskey as the standard treatment for toothache. (In case of a shortage, *one* of the two ingredients would do.)

clan into the north of that country. They mixed not at all with the Catholic Irish to whose religious and political views they were strongly opposed. In fact the Campbells and other Highlanders of northern Ireland kept their Scottish blood relatively pure.

In later times they came to be called Scotch-Irish, an indication that they had made an extra stop en route to America. Here again was the seed for America given an extra sifting, with the strongest spirits and the men of most venturesome nature chosen by a rough process of natural selection for the task ahead. The settlers of North Ireland were Scots who had been unwilling to sit idly by and let time mend matters; they had taken their future into their own hands to "do something about it." Sometimes the "something" was strictly unlawful and led to a hasty departure from home to avoid punishment, but that does not alter the fact that the fugitive was likely to be a man of more than average enterprise.²

When the time came to go to America for larger opportunity, again, generally speaking, it was the enterprising, restless and venturesome individual that pushed forward. The well known indomitable spirit of the Scotch-Irish people in America, which has helped make the country great, no doubt owes much to the fact that their stock had been twice winnowed. (Shall we say, as did the Puritans, "by the breath of the Lord?")

Three ports of entry received most of the Campbells who emigrated to America. The northern settlements such as those around Londonderry, New Hampshire, were filled by those

²Typical was the case of John MacNaughton of Dundarave who was deceived by Sir James Campbell, last male in direct line of the Campbells of Ardkinglass, into marrying his eldest daughter instead of the second. The next day MacNaughton and the second daughter fled to Ireland leaving the wife lamenting. See A. & A. K. Johnston, *Scottish Clans and Their Tartans*.

who debarked at Boston. The deep south was settled from Charleston, South Carolina, while the ones that occupied the central colonies came mostly by way of Newcastle, Delaware. Through that port of entry came Campbells, who scattered through every nook and corner of Pennsylvania, where at least a third of the population was Scotch-Irish at the time of the Revolutionary War.

A Campbell settlement was made in Washington County, New York, where the place names still show marks of the Campbell influence. In 1737 Captain Lachlan Campbell of Islay made an agreement with Governor George Clark of the Province of New York whereby Protestant settlers would receive from 150 to 500 acres of free land, and Campbell was to have 1000 acres for every family he brought over. As a result 83 families were transported, totaling in all 423 persons. The government then repudiated the agreement, leaving Campbell practically penniless and his settlers in sad straits. In 1763 Lachlan's son Donald, who had served at the Battle of Ticonderoga as an ensign in the Black Watch, petitioned for 100,000 acres of land as fulfillment of the obligation to his father. He was given 10,000 acres to be held jointly by him, his two brothers, three sisters, and four other persons, three of whom were Campbells. His success led others of the Islay party who were living as best they could in other parts of the New World to make similar petitions, and in 1764 a grant of 47,450 acres of land was made to this group of settlers in township Argyll in what is now Washington County, New York State. Later, various other Scottish settlers took up land near the Campbell settlement or near New Perth (Salem), in response to the King's proclamation of 1763 offering free land to all officers and soldiers who desired to settle in America. A field officer received 4000 acres, a captain 3000, a lieutenant or commissioned officer of lower grade received 2000; while the lowly noncommissioned officers

and privates received 200 acres and 50 acres respectively. Thus by one means or another America was opened up by settlers with the encouragement of the government, which saw in an occupied and productive country a source of revenue for Britain; and held it a matter of course that all trade with the colonies should be carried in British bottoms, financed by British money and distributed by British firms, with resulting British profits (British in this case meaning largely English).

As civilization pushed westward the Campbells moved with it and left their imprint on place names wherever they settled; Campbell counties in Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee give tangible trace of the clan in the more easterly parts of the country while Campbell counties, in South Dakota and Wyoming indicate the part played later in opening up the far west. In the postal directory the town names of Campbell, Campbellsport, Port Campbell, Campbelltown, Argyll, Loudoun, and the like show where the Campbells did their part in organizing the machinery whereby a new world was to function.³

One important settlement made in what is now Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, has a typical history, and the story of its settlers can be taken as a fair example of colonial development. When the emigrants came they called the township Donegal (now Cook Township), and the village of Donegal still marks by its name the sentimental attachment the settlers had for their overseas place of origin. The early Scotch-Irish pronounced it "Denny-Gall" and the pronunciation carried down to their children and grandchildren.

These Scottish Campbells, and the other settlers in Donegal, for that matter—for there were many Germans in the settle-

³ Perhaps you will indulge me in the mention also of the village of Glen Campbell, Pennsylvania, from which my touring friends occasionally send me a picture post card.

ment—followed westward along the road cut through the forest by General John Forbes, another Scot. He had pushed westward to head off the French, who were about to take control of the valley of the Ohio River. Their fort stood on the point of land lying between the Monongehela and Allegheny rivers where the Ohio is formed.

General Forbes was given the job of clearing the “point” in 1758 and, being a man of direct action, he refused to have anything to do with the devious routes of his predecessors. Instead of approaching the future site of Pittsburgh by way of the Potomac and Monongehela rivers, he struck boldly for the Ohio River from eastern Pennsylvania, with saw and axe slashing a road over hill and dale. In spite of the fact that he had an army to do the work and was cutting a track only wide enough for a wagon, it took him most of a summer to open his road. As soon as it was open the flood of settlers that had piled up on the eastern slopes of the Alleghenies poured through like water through the opening in a dam. The Campbells rode through on this tide.

Dallas Albert in his *History of Westmoreland County*, has this to say of Donegal township:

“Among the first Justices of the Peace of the township after its erection was Seymour Campbell a very prominent local man. . . . There were also James McDowell, James McClain, John Campbell, John Berg, James Withrow, Eli K. Caven, J. G. Weaver, Lewis Thompson, and Josiah McDowell . . . elections are held at the post office of Mansville . . . The gentlemen who owned the land there when there was talk of founding a town were James Phinny Campbell, James McClain and James McKenzie. The first house was built by George Campbell . . . It should have been called Campbelltown because most of the settlers were Campbells.”⁴

The account also states that a whole company of militia

⁴ In pioneer days there was a Campbelltown in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. It is now known as St. Thomas.

could have been formed there composed entirely of Campbells. These people followed the opposite of modern procedure and settled on such land as suited them and received title later. The Land Bureau of the Department of the Interior of the State of Pennsylvania shows that one James Campbell of Donegal paid 10 pounds per hundred acres for land settled in 1773 but not surveyed until 1786; notation is made on the warrant that the land contained "an improvement" and adjoined land held by Robert Campbell and Cornelius Campbell.

In 1775 this neighborhood was attacked by Indians,⁵ and Robert Campbell's wife and infant child were killed. His sons Robert, William, and Thomas were taken as prisoners to Canada, where Thomas disappeared. Robert and William were returned, the former, according to some accounts, by way of England. At any rate, young Robert lived to become one of the leaders in the community, was one of the founders of Pleasant Grove Presbyterian Church, of which he was an elder for sixty-five years, and lacked but a year of being a century old when he died.

In Virginia the Scotch-Irish were most heavily represented in Albermarle, Nelson, Prince Edward, Charlotte, Orange, and Campbell counties and in the valleys of the Blue Ridge Mountains. By 1775 they (including a goodly percentage of Campbells) were strongly entrenched in North Carolina. (Scotland County is full of Campbells and their relatives by marriage.)

In North Carolina a place called Campbelltown (now Fayetteville), about 100 miles up the Cape Fear River, marked another settlement of Scots with a strong admixture of Campbells. Many of these had come from Argyllshire in 1739, with Neil McNeil of Kintyre as leader. In 1740 twelve justices of the peace were appointed, among them one Duncan

⁵ Boucher, *Old and New Westmoreland*.

Campbell. By 1753 about one thousand Highlanders capable of bearing arms were residents of the county. Their minister was the Reverend James Campbell, who came to the colony in 1757, the first ordained minister to take up his abode in one of the Presbyterian settlements in North Carolina.

In many parts of the New World the Campbell settlers were so numerous and showed so little originality in selecting given names that tracing a family tree is often a task almost beyond human ingenuity. By the time the investigator has waded through the tangle of Jameses, Roberts, Georges, Williams, Johns, Henrys and the like, he throws up his hands. There were among them a goodly number who could not read or write with any fluency (some not at all), and there was little family record-keeping. Outside of family tradition and tombstone carvings very little family history has been preserved among most of the Scotch-Irish Campbells.

Many of the settlers of Pennsylvania moved southward as Indian hostility made itself felt, and other Campbells moved northward from the Carolinas; soon the Shenandoah valley was full of Campbells. The index of the records of Augusta County, Virginia contains over one hundred references to the name James Campbell alone. As a well-known genealogist⁶ once said to me, "Judging from the names in the record books, it looks as if all the Scots had been Campbells."

No one can do justice to the details of this migration in one short chapter. The Campbells came to the new world like a tidal wave and each family, with the pioneer tradition of from eight to twelve children, created in turn a small tidal wave of its own. It is small wonder that America is full of Campbells.

In spite of the protection afforded the colonies by their geographical position, the question of foreign rivalry came steadily to the fore and the colonies became a jumping-off

⁶ Conklin Mann.

place for attacks in various directions. Part of the military burden was born by the colonies themselves and part by troops from the "Old Country."

Among the men of the Clan Campbell who served in the British Army in America in pre-Revolutionary days was John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun, who was given the chief command in America in 1755. His was not entirely a military command but a semimilitary political mission to raise from the colonies whatever support against the French could be mustered. This was the General John Campbell who fought the Jacobites in the '45 Rebellion. When he sailed for America he took with him an aide-de-camp, a secretary, a surgeon, and seventeen servants including a cook, a groom, a coachman, a postillion, a footman and two women. One of the latter was Jean Wasson, his mistress. He found difficulty in persuading the colonial authorities to contribute supplies and men; the phrase in the Declaration of Independence referring to the quartering of troops on the colonists by Great Britain came as the result of Loudoun's expedition. However, he did make such arrangements that when Fraser's Highlanders came later they were well received and quartered in Connecticut. He was recalled partly as a result of politics at home, partly because with the force furnished him he could do little in the field. He was made governor of Stirling and Edinburgh and died a bachelor at Loudoun Castle in 1782. Many of the soldiers sent out to serve with him remained in America and became settlers in the new world.

Service in the army brought many settlers to America. When Lord Lovat was beheaded in the Tower of London for his part in the rising of '45, the attainder on his son was remitted. This son, who would have been the new Lord Lovat, had he not lost his estate through the misjudgment of his father, made reparation to the government and repayment for the damage done by raising a regiment of 1460 men

known as Fraser's Highlanders, of which about 800 were from the Clan Fraser. In this regiment Campbells were numerous.⁷ John Campbell of Dunoon, who later commanded a regiment of Campbells in Germany, served as major, while another John Campbell was a captain. Other officers were Lieutenant Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon, and also Lieutenant Alexander Campbell; still another John Campbell served as ensign. Another Lieutenant, Arthur Rose of Kilravock, could hardly be anything but a relative of the Cawdor Campbells.

This regiment was outfitted with full Highland dress and armed with broadsword, musket, dirk, and pouch. It sailed for America after the capture of Louisburg and was part of the force that scaled the heights of Quebec in 1759. The Campbells served their King that September day on the Plains of Abraham, when young Major General James Wolfe led the charge that ended French domination of the St. Lawrence River and made Quebec a British colony *de jure* even though *de facto* it remained French in every outward characteristic. And so it remains for the most part to this day in spite of a certain intermixture of Scottish blood. A great many men of the Fraser Regiment never returned to the British Isles, but settled in Quebec after being disbanded in 1764 and the Campbells settled with them. Some of them were still active in 1775 and rallied to the King against the American colonists.

⁷ The Campbell representation in the Fraser regiment is explained by the fact that the 2nd wife of the elder Fraser (Lord Lovat) was Primrose Campbell, sister of John Campbell, Duke of Argyll. The younger Lovat was half brother to Archibald Campbell Fraser. Says a tablet in the church at Kirkhill:

Archibald Campbell Fraser . . . effected a peace between Denmark and Venice while on a diplomatic mission from George III to the Moham-
medan states of North Africa . . . in 1782 he cooperated in recovering to the Highlanders the dress of their ancestors.

Simon Fraser and his wife Primrose quarreled and were divorced in later life. He said she was "part deil and part daw."

On July 9, 1757 Archibald, 3rd Duke of Argyll, wrote from London to the Duke of Athol as follows:

"My Lord: This is to acquaint your Grace that there is to be 3 additional Companies raised for Lord John Murray's Regiment, (Black Watch). I believe the nomination of the officers will be left to me and consequently to Your Grace; there will be 3 captains, 6 lieutenants and 3 ensigns and 100 men each company. The raising the men will be the merit of those who shall desire to be officers and if any can be found who have served in Holland, so much the better. Your Grace will have your thought on this but don't promise anybody till you let me hear from you. I shall speak to Lord John but I will bid him consult you and will plainly tell him that the commissions must all be given gratis. The other two Highland Regiments will likewise have the same addition made to them.

I am with the greatest truth and respect, My. Lord, Yr Gr/s most faithful and obt. h'ble Servant, Argyll."

Thus was formed an addition to the Black Watch which sailed December 1, 1757 to meet the remainder of the Regiment in America and arrived in New York in April. (One ship did not get there till June.) The Black Watch then numbered about 1300 men divided into 10 companies, and carried on its rolls as officers during the summer of 1757: Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe; Captain Allan Campbell of Barcaldine; Captain John Campbell of Strachur; Captain John Campbell of Duneavis;⁸ Lieut. John Campbell of Glenlyon; Lieutenant Alex. Campbell of Inverawe; Lieut. Archibald Campbell; Ensign Duncan Campbell; Ensign George Campbell; Ensign Donald Campbell of Islay; Ensign

⁸ This Captain John Campbell was a veteran of the Black Watch promoted from private to ensign for bravery at Fontenoy and later made captain. With Gregor MacGregor he was presented to George II as a typical Highland soldier and the two performed the exercises of the broadsword and Lochabar ax. Each was given a guinea gratuity which, with typical Highland impudence, they tossed to the porter at the gate as they went out. John Campbell was one of the few resolute men who forced their way into the French works at Ticonderoga and was killed there.

Archibald Campbell, Jr. and Ensign Archibald Campbell, Sr. There were many Campbells among the noncommissioned officers and privates.

No story of the Campbells in America would be complete without mention of the battle of Ticonderoga, where Lieut. General James Abercrombie and Brigadier General George A. Howe attacked the French on July 6, 1758. The battle cost the defeated English the lives of over 2000 men, including Lord Howe and other officers. Among those lost was Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe. Of him Parkman writes in *Montcalm and Wolfe*:

“The ancient castle of Inverawe stands by the banks of the Awe, in the midst of the wild and picturesque scenery of the Western Highlands. Late one evening, before the middle of the last century, as the laird, Duncan Campbell, sat alone in the old hall, there was a loud knocking at the gate; and, opening it, he saw a stranger, with torn clothing and kilt besmeared with blood, who in a breathless voice begged for asylum. He went on to say that he had killed a man in a fray, and that the pursuers were at his heels. Campbell promised to shelter him. ‘Swear on your dirk!’ said the stranger; and Campbell swore. He then led him to a secret recess in the depths of the castle. Scarcely was he hidden when again there was a loud knocking at the gate, and two armed men appeared. ‘Your cousin Donald has been murdered, and we are looking for the murderer!’

“Campbell, remembering his oath, professed to have no knowledge of the fugitive; and the men went on their way. The laird, in great agitation, lay down to rest in a large dark room, where at length he fell asleep. Waking suddenly in bewilderment and terror, he saw the ghost of the murdered Donald standing by his bedside, and heard a hollow voice pronounce the words: ‘Inverawe! Inverawe! blood has been shed. Shield not the murderer!’ In the morning Campbell went to the hiding place of the guilty man and told him that he could harbor him no longer. ‘You have sworn on your dirk!’ he replied; and the laird of Inverawe, greatly perplexed and troubled, made a compromise between conflicting duties, promised not to betray his guest, led him to

the neighboring mountain (Ben Cruachan) and hid him in a cave.

"In the next night, as he lay tossing in feverish slumbers, the same stern voice awoke him, the ghost of his cousin Donald stood again at his bedside, and again he heard the same appalling words: 'Inverawe! Inverawe! blood has been shed. Shield not the murderer!' At break of day he hastened, in strange agitation, to the cave; but it was empty, the stranger had gone. At night, as he strove in vain to sleep, the vision appeared once more, ghastly pale, but less stern of aspect than before. 'Farewell Inverawe!' it said, 'Farewell, till we meet at TICONDEROGA!'

"The strange name dwelt in Campbell's memory. He had joined the Black Watch, or Forty-second Regiment, then employed in keeping order in the turbulent Highlands. In time he became its major; and, a year or two after the war broke out, he went with it to America. Here, to his horror, he learned that it was ordered to the attack of Ticonderoga. His story was well known among his brother officers. They combined among themselves to disarm his fears; and when they reached the fatal spot they told him on the eve of the battle, 'This is not Ticonderoga; we are not there yet; this is Fort George.' But in the morning he came to them with haggard looks. 'I have seen him! You have deceived me! He came to my tent last night! This is Ticonderoga! I shall die today!' and his prediction was fulfilled."

Whether or not the ghostly revelation influenced history, the fact remains that Major Duncan Campbell received a slight wound in the arm at Ticonderoga, developed blood poisoning, and died nine days later at the age of 55. He is buried in Union Cemetery between Hudson Falls and Fort Edward, New York.⁹

In 1764 Farquhar Campbell and Walter Gibson represented Cumberland County in the North Carolina legislature; Camp-

⁹ "Smiling with wistful image wan,
A dead man leads the dying on.
Campbell, Laird of Inverawe,
Hath met the doom his dream foresaw;
Pierced by his murdered Kinsman's eyes,
His clansmen bear him where he dies."
—*Ticonderoga* by Percy MacKay.

bell was returned for four additional years and became one of the leading men in that body. On April 18, 1771 he was given a commission as captain, two commissions in blank for lieutenant and ensign and 150 pounds to be used in raising a troop of fifty men to suppress an uprising by a band called the Regulators, who demanded reform in government and taxation.

In 1772 a petition was presented to Governor Martin praying that the right to vote be limited to "those having a dwelling-house, such house having a stone or brick chimney there unto appendant." This petition was signed by Farquhar Campbell, who again represented his county in the legislature. This was the year that the famous Flora MacDonald, of Prince Charles fame, came to America with her husband, Allan MacDonald, and settled in Anson County. By that time she had eleven children.¹⁰

The Revolutionary War came on apace and both sides made all possible overtures to the settlers. Farquhar Campbell wavered. First he was for the King, next he was for the Rebels, and finally (as shown by the North Carolina Colonial records) he was taken prisoner by the American forces and sent with other prisoners to Baltimore and Fredericktown. He was later paroled and a few years after the war was back in the Senate of North Carolina. His vacillation was typical of many Scots in America who were torn between a tradition of loyalty to the King and a desire to protect their homes and their freedom.

One of the most effective actions in support of the colonial cause was the Battle of Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780, where about one thousand backwoodsmen joined with 100 provincial rangers and about 1000 colonial militia to defeat

¹⁰ Flora MacDonald College of Red Springs, North Carolina, is a reminder of her fame. Here can be seen the remarkable phenomenon of typical Scottish girls speaking with a Southern accent.

the forces of the King. Among the commanders on the colonial side was Colonel William Campbell,¹¹ who led 200 Virginians released from the duty of guarding the home sector by his cousin and brother-in-law, Arthur Campbell, the Colonel Commandant of the territory. This battle, fought within a couple of miles of the border line of North and South Carolina, had much to do with the final overthrow of the British forces in the South and paved the way for the final disaster that overtook Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.

With the "Mac" clans, the action was on the other side. As long as they were in Scotland their history was one of long-drawn-out rebellion. At the beginning of the American Revolution, however, the MacDonnell settlement in the Mohawk Valley of New York fled to Canada and formed the King's Royal Regiment of New York.¹² Five captains, three lieutenants and one ensign were MacDonnells, while a Captain of Butler's Rangers who scourged the settlements of the colonists was John MacDonnell of Aberchalder.

The MacDonald clan in America were almost all for the King. When Donald MacDonald fell upon Shell's Bush, a settlement about four miles north of the present town of Herkimer, New York, and was taken prisoner, his tomahawk showed thirty scalp notches. Another Donald MacDonald was placed in command of the King's forces in North Carolina with the rank of brigadier general and with Donald MacLeod next in rank. On February 1, 1776 MacDonald set up

¹¹ William Campbell was of Scotch-Irish descent. His family got to Ireland originally from Inveraray. The first settlement made by this family in America was near Donegal, Pennsylvania; from there a branch moved to what is now Augusta County, Virginia, where William Campbell married Elizabeth Henry, sister of the famous Patrick Henry of "give me liberty or give me death" fame. David Campbell, one time governor of Virginia and William B. Campbell, former governor of Tennessee were outstanding public servants of colonial days.

¹² See J. P. MacLean, *Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America*. MacDonnell is a variation of the name MacDonald and pertained especially to the MacDonalds of Glengarry, where Angus MacDonald was created Lord MacDonnell in 1660.



Valentine

ROSENEATH — THE HOME OF PRINCESS LOUISA AND HER CAMPBELL HUSBAND

Notable as the residence of Princess Louisa and her Campbell husband,

EDINBURGH CASTLE — FILLED WITH CAMPBELL HISTORY

Edinburgh Castle stands at one end of a highly historical street which leads down the hill to Holyrood Palace. Both the street and the castle are of utmost historical significance to the Campbells. On the esplanade in the foreground Lady Glamis Douglas Campbell was burned at the stake while her husband, Archibald Campbell, was killed when he fell trying to escape down the face of the rock on which the castle stands. The prominent tower on the right, as you look at the picture, is Argyll's Tower. In it were imprisoned two Archibald Campbells, father and son, and each of them was escorted from the tower out through the main gate across the esplanade and down the street to the Maiden.



his standard in Campbelltown and called for volunteers. He gathered a force variously estimated at from 1500 to 3000, but not all the qualified men came in. Many settlers declared their neutrality and refused to join either army. When armed forces of either side appeared the settlers took to the woods.

On February 20, 1776 the Colonial minute men were swarming about MacDonald, who retreated across the Cape Fear River but was cornered and finally taken, with seventy of his men killed or wounded, including Major Donald MacLeod and a Captain John Campbell, who were serving with the King's forces. The Royalists lost all their arms and supplies, MacDonald was himself taken prisoner and thrown into jail. Thus ended North Carolinian support of the Crown during the Revolution.

When the Revolutionary War began a great British drive was made to recruit soldiers and sailors both at home and abroad. Great Britain was spread too thin, for she was fighting a three-front war and desperately needed men. The press gangs were put to work in Britain, and every known recruiting device was employed. It was the law that once a recruit accepted the "King's shilling" he was legally in the army. Shillings were handed to unsuspecting country boys who were then immediately seized. Sometimes the shilling was hidden in a package of sweets or dropped unobserved into an open pocket, whereupon the recruiting force swore that the luckless lad had voluntarily accepted enlistment and he was bundled off to the barracks.¹³ Often his next stop was America.

¹³ Most of the Campbells who served on the side of the Crown during the Revolution were professional soldiers or men newly come from Britain. A great number of Campbells served on the Colonial side, as the records of the American army show. This was particularly true of the Scotch-Irish Campbells who by their stop in Ireland had broken the direct connection with Scotland and were well weaned away from their homeland.

As the historian Bancroft points out, "the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came not from the Puritans of New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the planters of Virginia but from the Scotch Presbyterians."

When the war started a large number of Highlanders were on their way to America to settle in the new world. British men of war waited for their ships and boarded them. The immigrants were given the choice of joining the British army or being imprisoned for debt upon landing. On the other hand, those who agreed to serve were promised forgiveness of debts, food for their families and generous land allotments when the war was over. Most of the able-bodied men enlisted, for there was little else they could do, while their wives and families were sent to Halifax to await peace.

By this means the two battalions of the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment were filled. The second was under Major John Small, with Captains Duncan Campbell and Alexander Campbell, and Lieutenant Robert Campbell. Five companies were sent south to serve under General Cornwallis, while another five were kept in Nova Scotia. At the end of the war most of these men settled in Canada.

Probably the most unfortunate Campbell commanding during the American Revolution was Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell of India, who was in charge of a section of the revived Fraser's Highlanders, with Major Robert Menzies second in command, that sailed by transport from Glasgow in 1776. Due to storms his ship became separated from the rest of the fleet during the voyage and the ships arrived singly at Boston. By the time Campbell arrived Lord Howe¹⁴ had evacuated that city and left no ship off the harbor to warn the incoming vessels of the true situation; Archibald Campbell sailed into the trap and it was sprung behind him. It became his painful duty to report by letter to Sir William Howe under date of June 19, 1776:

"I am sorry to inform you that it has been my unfortunate lot to have fallen into the hands of the Americans in the middle of Boston harbor . . . Captain Colin Campbell, with the Grena-

¹⁴ Not the Lord Howe of Ticonderoga.

diers of the 2nd Battalion, who were as ignorant as we were of the evacuation of Boston, stood into the mouth of this harbor, was surrounded and taken by eight privateers this forenoon."

A controversy having arisen concerning the treatment of the American General Lee by the British General Howe, who held the former a prisoner, due notice was taken by the Continental Congress on January 6, 1777 and equivalent treatment ordered to be dealt out to Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, whereupon the latter was thrown into the Concord jail. On February 4th Campbell wrote General Washington asking relief from treatment as "a common criminal." Washington remonstrated with the Massachusetts authorities and after several letters was finally able to get Campbell removed from the jail to lodgings in the jailer's house some time in May or June, 1777. A full year later Campbell was exchanged for the captured Colonel Ethan Allen on May 5, 1778.¹⁵ By that time most of the opportunity for glory or advancement was gone and Archibald Campbell could count as completely wasted the two and a half years that had passed between his sailing from Glasgow and his return to the British army. He was ordered to invade the southern colonies and on November 29, 1778, a force of Highlanders, Hessians, and provincials and a detachment of artillery under his command sailed from Sandy Hook for Savannah, which was easily captured. Soon after this Augusta was taken and made his headquarters. Upon the arrival of General Prevost of Florida, who assumed command, the lines were ordered narrowed and the British withdrew from Augusta and surrounding territory, which discouraged the Tories and gave heart to the Colonists. Whereupon Colonel Campbell, who was in strong disagreement with

¹⁵ Ethan Allen, captured by the British Sept. 25, 1775 near Montreal while a part of General Richard Montgomery's expedition against Canada, had likewise been a long-time prisoner. Allen, after his release became Brigadier General of Militia in Vermont.

this system of fighting, obtained leave and sailed for England.

On the British side other Campbells were active in the southern campaign and several are well remembered for their work: Captain Colin Campbell for holding the redoubt at Stone Ferry; Lieutenant Robert Campbell for swimming the Savannah River under fire to bring boats for the escape of the surrounded survivors of the South Carolina campaign; Captain Archibald Campbell for commanding a redoubt at the siege of Savannah by the French; Captain Charles Campbell for leading the Highlanders against the Americans under Gates, capturing a depot of arms and stores and being killed by a musketball for his pains. There were these and more.

Another regiment that served in America during the Revolution was the Argyll Highlanders raised by Colonel John Campbell of Barbeck in 1777. The Campbells were strongly represented: three field officers, six captains and fourteen subalterns were of that name. Their service was not heavy and after peace was declared this unit sailed back to England.

The Tories at the end of the war found themselves none too welcome in the Colonies. Many of the Campbells thereupon moved to Canada, which also had a strong Campbell representation among its early settlers.

The early fur trade of the northwest brought shiploads of Scots to Canada and among them were many Campbells. John I. Campbell of Montreal came to America to work for the Hudson's Bay Company and later made his mark as a director of its rival, the Northwest Fur Company. Others served in greater or less capacities.

Best and strongest of them all, however, was Robert Campbell, who came to the Hudson's Bay Company from Perthshire. In due time he served in the far northwest. His most notable achievement was a voyage of exploration and discovery in 1838, which earned him great honor both in the New World and the Old.

Campbell ascended the Laird River to Finlayson's Lake and thence to a river which he decided to call Pelly Banks. Later the Company offered to call it the Campbell River, but he declined the honor. At the junction of the Pelly and Lewis rivers, he erected a building long called Campbell's Fort, and now known as Fort Selkirk, and then returned home. Twelve years later he returned and covered by canoe over 1000 miles down the Yukon, thence around to the mouth of the Mackenzie, and up that river to his home territory.

One of his most remarkable accomplishments was his marriage, although his wife deserves most of the credit for that. A Miss Sterling, accompanied by her sister, came out from Scotland to marry him and not only battled the ordinary difficulties of transportation in the civilized communities of those early days, but covered by wagon and water upwards of one thousand miles from St. Paul, Minnesota, to his place at Norway House on Lake Winnipeg, where the wedding was finally held. The seed stock of the Campbells was persistency personified.

Inspect the pictures of the Speakers of the Upper House at Ottawa, and you will find that they are mainly Frenchmen or Scots. Among the seven Scots you will find Sir William Campbell and Sir Alexander Campbell representing the clan. Transatlantic passengers who pause at Gander Bay, Newfoundland, find themselves near Campbeltown named for one of the earlier governors, John Campbell,¹⁶ who received

¹⁶ This Campbell was an admiral in the British navy. When the French plan for the invasion of England was smashed, he was the bearer of the good tidings to his King. Said Campbell's sponsor, "The King will probably knight you."

Said Campbell, "I ken nae use that will be to me."

"Your Lady might like it."

"Aweel," replied Campbell. "His majesty may knight her if he pleases."

History records no knighting of this very independent member of the family.

his appointment in 1782. He served four years and built himself a wide reputation as a dry wit.

We haven't begun to tell the story of the Campbells in North America but there is room for only a few more names:

Do you remember the cutter "Campbell" that had her bottom plates torn loose ramming a submarine at the beginning of World War II? She was named for George Washington Campbell, who was secretary of the Treasury of the United States in 1814.

The oncoming of the Civil War in America was hastened by two events. One was the "Dred Scott Decision," which made it possible for a man owning slaves to take them into "free" territory and still hold them as property—this decision was concurred in by John Archibald Campbell,¹⁷ a Justice of the Supreme Court (1853-1861), who held with the majority that slaves were no different from any other property. Another event that hastened the great and bloody war was the insurrection of John Brown and his consequent execution. James W. Campbell was the sheriff who hung Brown December 2, 1856. In the conflict that followed Campbells served as generals, as privates and in all ranks intervening, thus helping to resolve the great conflict which two members of the family had a part in provoking.

Probably the Campbell whose leadership touched the most people in America was Alexander Campbell, founder with his father, Thomas Campbell, of the "Campbellite" Church, otherwise known as the Disciples of Christ and dedicated to the teaching of "simple, primitive Christianity." Baptism by immersion is a tenet of this faith. Alexander Campbell edited the *Christian Baptist*, later called the *Millennial Harbinger* and

¹⁷ Justice Campbell tried to prevent the damage done by the Civil War by intervening to prevent the secession of the South and then to ameliorate the punishment dealt out after the war. He was suspected of double dealing by both sides and was confined to jail for 4 months by the North. He was released when his Supreme Court associates intervened.

wrote prolifically. Sixty volumes, says the Encyclopedia Britannica, bear his name. He was part of the Constitutional Convention of Virginia in 1829. He founded Bethany College in West Virginia, and was its first president till his death in 1866. Few Campbells in all the world have given faith and guidance to more people, for a religious leader who attains a place of trust and honor among his followers is more powerful than captains or kings.

Briefly and quickly told this is a small part of the story of the Campbells in the New World. There is more—much more—and a lot of it worth the telling. There is no end to it. Look in your telephone directory no matter where you live and the list of Campbells compared to the other Scottish names quickly shows how heavy was the migration to America and how rapidly the family increased and multiplied once it reached its new home. Day by day the good work goes on for better or for worse. What America is today may well be laid in part at the door of the Campbells and part of her future lies in their hands.

CHAPTER XIX

The Campbells Carry On

AT THE CONCLUSION of the rising of 1745 King George II, strongly supported by the Whigs, decided that it was time to end a system which made such revolutions possible. An act was passed by Parliament which ordained that any person, man or boy, found wearing the clothes commonly called the Highland clothes—that is, plaid, philabeg, trews, shoulder belts or any part whatsoever of the Highland garb—or any person found wearing a dress of tartan or particolored cloth after August 1, 1747, should be imprisoned six months for the first offense, and for its repetition be transported for seven years.

Also, in 1747 an act was passed for the suppression of heritable jurisdictions and all overlordships were wiped out. No longer would offices with almost royal power be handed down in one family from generation to generation. An attempt was made by Parliament to soften the blow somewhat, for this was a most revolutionary step. It struck friends of the King as well as foes, and cash consideration was offered to equalize the loss of certain heritable rights. In the case of the Campbells, Archibald, 3rd Duke of Argyll, was paid off as follows:

For the office of Justiciar of Argyllshire and the Islands	15,000 pounds
For the sheriffship of Argyllshire	5,000 pounds
For the regality of Campbell	1,000 pounds

Thus was the birthright of the Campbells bartered away by their government for less than \$50,000, and there was no

choice but to submit or emigrate. No longer could the most obscure Campbell call upon his laird in adversity, as a son might call upon his father. In an earlier day the crofter had rights in the family scheme and the land he sat upon was his home with none to say him nay, but Parliament by decree made the laird only a landlord and rent collector like any other operator of a real-estate holding. For better or for worse the family apron strings were cut and, as never before, the "little man" was on his own. The result was a profound change in the affairs of Scotland. The Campbells were greatly affected by that change as time went on, for although they had been friendly to the government, they still were a clan with a clan dress and a clan manner of living, and the laws applied to them exactly as to the rebels. Many decided to cross the water and try a new start in a new world. The resulting emigration of the more vigorous and venturesome fraction of this population robbed the Old World of some of its best blood and gave to the New World the vigorous pioneers needed to make strong the race in America, Australia, New Zealand, and other far-away places.

We must recognize the fact that the exodus of the Scots, and particularly of the Highland Scots, was no sudden development. Conditions from the time of the Union in 1707 onward were such as to foster it. After the English had brought Scotland "into the family," many things were done by law which were not to the best interests of their northern neighbors. In Parliament the English had a majority of the votes and the minority as usual took the leavings.

The salt tax almost destroyed the fishing industry, for the curing called for the use of at least a third of foreign salt in the mix. "By 1750 the Dutch had 150 fishing vessels off the Scots coast which they called their gold mine; the Scots themselves had two,"¹ and while efforts were made to revive the

¹ Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *Scotland in Modern Times*.

industry they were not overly successful.² The Scots had plenty to complain of and were especially resentful of the new attitude taken by the holders of the land, who raised rents, gave less attention to those who worked the soil and in some cases forcibly evicted them from their home plots. "A hundred smokes now go up one chimney" was the expressive manner in which the Highlander described the "Highland Clearances" by which the landlords moved the crofters and small farmers to make way for extensive sheep farms which were proving more profitable. To the poverty which had previously been the lot of the Highland common man downright homelessness was now added, and those ambitious men who would advance beyond their fellows found small opportunity at home. The overseas activities both east and west gained momentum as the manpower of Scotland was directed into this new channel. Again we recognize one of the imponderables of human affairs. At a time when the world was filling up its empty spaces, seed stock of the very best quality was forcibly driven out to where it was needed.

Although the government removed the major portion of their power and glory from the Campbell leaders after the Jacobite Wars by edict, purchase, and laws which practically abolished the Clan system, no prohibition was put upon the winning of recognition for members of the family through service to their country and fellow countrymen. The Campbells continued to win places of eminence during the next two hundred years. In fact, so many have done so

² In 1750 Hume Campbell was presented with the freedom of the City of Edinburgh because through his efforts the fishing industry was subsidized. This effort was more for the purpose of developing capable sailors than for benefit to the fishing industry. The success of the endeavor is proved by the fact that Campbeltown, located in Kintyre, sent over 1000 men to the Navy during the American Revolution, while the west coast of Scotland, where the herring fisheries flourished, contributed 3500 to 4000. Says Mathieson, "On a single ship of the line a hundred Highland seamen were once counted."

that only by heroic measures can this story of the family be brought to a close.

One of the residual heirs left by the great second Duke was John Stuart, Earl of Bute, a nephew of Argyll. Through his friendship with the reigning family, he became a close friend and adviser of George III, who came to the throne of England in 1760, and made this scion of the Campbell family his Prime Minister. Bute lacked the hard-headed, throat-cutting qualities necessary for a political leader in a day when the announcement of American victories over the British forces could be cheered by the opposition Whigs in the House of Parliament because it meant the political embarrassment of the Tories, even though it also meant the loss of Britain's greatest colonial asset. Bute tried to be fair and give both sides a part in the government, but he went down within a year.

With the death of Archibald, 3rd Duke, who left no heirs except an illegitimate son, the succession passed to a somewhat distant cousin, John Campbell, son of Campbell of Mamore. The 4th Duke served his country well in Parliament and rose to the rank of general in the army, as did his son John, who succeeded him as 5th Duke in 1770. The latter at that time had the most numerous tenantry in Scotland, whose condition he did much to ameliorate by wide improvements. His efforts in behalf of his people led to his election as President of the Highland Society. He died, aged 83, at Inveraray Castle at the beginning of the 19th century (May 25, 1806) and was buried at Kilmun, where his wife had preceded him by eighteen years. His son, who was sponsored at his baptism by George III and Queen Charlotte, succeeded him, being 40 years of age at the time.

These were the days when John, Lord Campbell, Chief Justice of England, was pushing his way to the top. This remarkable man reported and helped revise many phases of the

law in England, including repeal of the law of imprisonment for debt. He wrote voluminously on English historical characters in a popular vein, although not always accurately. He was made Lord Chancellor of Great Britain in 1859 and died in 1861. He firmly believed that Great Britain should recognize the Confederate States of America as a separate country, and it was due to his insistence that certain moves were made in that direction, much to the dismay of President Lincoln and the Congress of the United States.

George Douglas Campbell, 8th Duke of Argyll, was just as firmly on the other side of the question. He felt that no country in the world could long exist if its constituent parts had the right to secede at will. This Campbell, through his long service in the government, had great influence in Britain. He first entered the Cabinet at the age of twenty-nine as Keeper of the Privy Seal, served at one time as Postmaster General, and at another as Secretary for India. He was vigorous in his opposition to slavery, and entertained Harriet Beecher Stowe in his castle at Inveraray during the time when "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was a best seller. This Campbell, long-time friend of William Gladstone, Britain's powerful Prime Minister, did much toward keeping his country neutral when, as Abraham Lincoln said, the North had capacity for only "one war at a time."

During his years in the government, the 8th Duke acted as Minister in Attendance to Queen Victoria during her visits to Scotland, and their families came into close contact. His eldest son, John Douglas, the 9th Duke, married Victoria's daughter, Princess Louise, and was made Governor General of Canada. The Princess and her Campbell consort had no children, and the present Duke is the son of Archibald Campbell, brother of the consort.

Another Campbell active in the affairs of the Empire was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who was successively Finan-

cial Secretary to the War Office, Secretary to the Admiralty, and Chief Secretary for Ireland. He became Secretary for War in Gladstone's cabinet in 1886, and was Prime Minister during the trying days of the Boer War, to which he was personally opposed. Contemporary with Joseph Chamberlain and Lloyd George, this Campbell links the family to the twentieth century. He was a son of James Campbell of Forfarshire; the Bannerman was added to his name when he received a legacy from a maternal uncle by that name.

It is only by omitting the names of thousands of Campbells who deserve mention, that we can end this history of the family. Enough has been said to whet the curiosity of Campbells everywhere, and the books are full of details that cannot be crowded in here.

Today the sturdy landmarks of the Campbells still stand, and to a certain extent the Campbells still hold their own. At Inveraray, Niall Diarmid Campbell, tenth Duke of Argyll, receives Campbell visitors in his kilt, and is a gracious host to any of the family who are interested in the story of the clan, his collection of family portraits, or other historical treasures. The entrance to the castle is topped by a canopy of glass erected on the occasion of one of Queen Victoria's visits to Inveraray. At Nairn, John Campbell, Earl of Cawdor, and his Countess,³ still make the ancient castle their home and do their best to maintain its ancient quality and dignity. At Loudoun Hill, the Countess of Loudoun, dispossessed by the fire which destroyed the family home, lives close by the castle ruins in the house formerly occupied by her farm superintendent, and plans for a restoration when the wartime shortage of materials and manpower has abated.

Those who know the present trend, however, are well aware that the Nobility of Great Britain are fighting a rear

³ She is the niece of Lord Inverchapel, British ambassador to the United States (1946).

guard action. For better or for worse a philosophy is sweeping across the world which is pulling down the old and setting up the new. The common man has made himself a political power the world over and under our present system has in his hands the power to tax, which is the power to destroy.

The great fortunes of America are gradually melting away as the overpowering inheritance taxes pile up, and with present income tax laws no new large estates are being built. And so it is, too, in the British Isles. Little by little the great accumulations of power and property are lawfully undermined, and no chance for rehabilitation is permitted. The man in the street bewails the fact, or rejoices, according to the philosophy which dominates his life. There is, however, little left of the blind, unswerving loyalty between master and man which, at one time, distinguished British life.

There are those who feel very strongly that in spite of Winston Churchill's disclaimer there is in sight a very definite end to the British Empire in the sense in which we have known it. The common man is asking a more tangible and immediate reward for his sacrifice and service than has been his in the past, just as the American laborer is demanding a greater share in the profits of the industry he helps to develop and sustain.

Both in America and in Britain vigorous attempts are being made to preserve the old while establishing the new. No one today can foretell the outcome. The actors in a scene of historical importance are in no position to evaluate events about them with certainty, but at best the outlook is dark for hereditary advantage based on wealth or position. The discovery of new lands which gave outlet for the energy and population of the older centers of civilization delayed the day of reckoning for centuries, but it is now upon us, and because they have an important stake in world affairs, the Campbells must help solve the problem.

However, there is no cause for repining and no occasion for looking back to the "good old days." History makes it plain that no matter what system may be in operation at a given stage in the world's development, there is always a place in it for men of vision and of vigor. The Campbells qualify, and if we may judge the future by the past, we may well expect them to play a generous part in the unfolding future of the human race.

CHAPTER XX

"I Must Write My Dear Jamie!"

THE PROGRESS of the human race is like the glacier that flows down the mountain side with a motion so slow that no eye can detect it. We know there has been progress because we see the debris cast aside and certain marks which our ancestors said were "there" are now "here" but no one person lives long enough to be able to note any measurable change.

We change our customs and conventions; even our announced standards of morality are changed (announced standards often vary decidedly from the practised standards which change very slowly). We change our mode of living quite rapidly sometimes as new devices and better organization many indicate—but human nature changes not except by thousands of years of pressure exerted in one direction.

If you marry a Campbell, boys and girls, you will have Scottish traits to deal with, and don't try too much making over; you can't undo on a two weeks' honeymoon what Mother Nature has been building for thousands of years. You can make every one concerned very miserable but you can't change what is born and bred in the bone. So take them or leave them as you will, but if you take them it will have to be as you find them. There may, in time, be Campbells who are different, but the change will have come long after you and I are forgotten in the dust of some ancient burial ground. Not that the Campbells need any apologies; taken as a whole they stack up pretty well for a family that has had as many chances to make mistakes as they have; they are "human" in

the best sense of the word and ambitious to "do better" in whatever field they may be laboring. The Campbells are good folks when you get to know them, "in their way"; and Lord forgive us if now and then our ways are found a bit peculiar.

Since the object of this writing is for all to get better acquainted with the Campbells, it would seem worthwhile to let you look into some letters written in 1710 by a Campbell man and wife and published as part of the Argyll papers. We wish you might read the whole series but they are long and tedious in spots. What is quoted here will perhaps give you a helpful glimpse of how people lived long ago and will surely give proof that in many ways our fundamental problems of living have not changed a great deal since that time.

About 1710 James Campbell, son of the ninth Earl, was involved in a lawsuit and forced to go to Edinburgh to attend to his affairs. The lawsuit doesn't matter, for the property involved has long ago passed into the limbo of material things, but the affair was, for us, fortunate indeed, because the separation led to a correspondence which has been preserved to this day and gives a better picture of the thinking and living of two hundred years ago than if the two people involved had sat down and written essays describing what they did and how they thought. These letters are entirely unconscious of the outsider's eye and never intended for it, which would make it a shame to broadcast them except that the people have long been dead and gone. Perhaps, as in an autopsy, which violates an individual's useless relic for the general good, we are justified in delving into these very human documents. We trust that you who are not Campbells will smile with us as you read, and not at us.

Margaret Campbell,¹ the wife, was very emotional—yet she knew exactly what she wanted and went after it in each case

¹ Margaret Campbell was born Margarate Leslie, daughter of the 1st Lord Newark.

with singleness of purpose. A typical woman! If feminine nature has changed by so much as a hair's breadth in two hundred years, it does not show in the nature of the women hereabout. She even laid her poor spelling to her love for her husband and made him take part of the blame—what feminine salesmanship! She wrote:

“My dear dos justly aquis (accuse) me of ill spilling (spelling); to tell truth afther I have writen to you some tiams I cannot read it myself; ffor, in writing I am so full of what I have to say to my lovid objike (loved object) that love puts me in the caracteer of a heasty ffool (hasty fool); besides att bast serinity I am a base spaler, and shall take your lason (lesson) with grat pasconc (great patience).”

James was in the city where supplies could be had and Margaret took advantage of the occasion to get herself stocked with household items. The poor man was worn down with instructions from his wife, some of which he didn't understand, and he wrote for more information. She not only told him over again; she gave him a great many more things to do and ended by going into details as to what to bring her if he was contemplating any “surprise.” Like many wives since that time, she had learned that a husband is likely to turn up with the wrong thing if left to himself, even after living with a woman for years and years, so just to be sure she wrote:

“This minit I have raed over your first latter wharin you desire the misur (measure) of the hats; belive me you writ to misur round the mouth of thar hats, so I did, but now I have misured (measured) across the mouth which comes to the same purpose. I sant you but won misuir (measure) for both Charles and Arche, being no ods off the tow (two) heads. Johnes is a sys lase (size less) quhich (which) you may gase (guess). I have sant you likeways the misuir from brem to brime (brim to brim); but you will remember thar (their) hats is broder than what is worn now. . . . I gave you the trouble bying me roses, lavender seed and some sweet yearbs (herbs) . . . you writs you wonder what

I am to mack (make) off so many pint bottells, all I had before is full of our vinegar, I found it drink up in the barrell so I have driyen it off; the use of thous (those) I writt for is for goosbarrys if they come in tiam this year, the beg (big) won is for coucombers. . . . how much of the tow (two) kind of sugar I wold have, that I lafft (left) to yourself, according as you cold spar (could spare) to by itt; as to the flagons I have nott seen myself aney (any) this long tiame (time) above a quartt. I have nott eat aney (any) of the mustred (mustard) yett but tested (tasted) it and it smils (smells) so so; you may by a smal quantidy of it. Iff my dear brings his mistress aney sweeties let it be sugar caraway—I want some. Lett them be good."

Again and again dutiful James writes giving reports on his progress and instructions as to procedure. He is more accustomed to writing than she and his spelling is better, and he can't help letting her know that being an errand boy calls for maximum cooperation from the other end of the line. He writes:

"My affaires require so much running up and down that, I can hardly keep my breeches up, I am so fallen away; however I cannot forget your concerns. I shall employ Mrs. Dodds to buy you a tubb this day in the market provided she can get one. I was at Leith upon Munday and got all your bottells except the quart one with the handell, which the man promised faithfully to get against the morning. . . . You will get your yearn dyed at Linlithgow orange colour for twelve pence a pound. I have sold my wheit horse I got Collen Campbell. I have no skill of such things as sugar and flagons, and besides, if you know how much I walk about my business which cannot be neglected, I am confident you would employ some other to buy such things but I shall doe my best. . . . I wish you did not change so many carriers, you find all I send goes saffe now, where to find this carrier you have sent your things by I know not for you doe not wreit me word where he quarters but I shall doe my best in everything you desaire but it is impossible to overtake all at present."

Has fundamental human nature changed? If we read the

tidbits of scandal which Margaret relates in one of her letters and then go to the next meeting of the woman's sewing society which meets in our neighborhood, few of us will try to argue that much change has come about. The girls and boys got together in those days, and who says they don't today—and of course tongues still wag. It sounds like news from the old home town when Margaret writes:

"T'other night piter (Peter) was out all night with Mrs. Weer's woman along; the Mrs. desir'd me to provide a bad (bed) ffor she wood keep him no longer; so at last I got him in the hous, and he's bean an other night sinc out. All this I have never notessed (noticed) to him, but I am shur iff he continus so, the town will, ffor this pleas (place) is narow, and nothing don or sad (said) butt all must pas thar opinun off itt. . . . Criste's nurc (nurse) held up a bastred in Sant Nagen's Kirk herself, for it had so maney fathers she cold (could) not know hou (who) to give it tow."

Then came news for him that while the head of the house was away things were going wrong. Only a man who has been away from home on a mission which keeps him tied down can appreciate the feelings of James when he read the following:

"I gott up this morning by four o'clock to writ to my ffaithful kind Jeamy . . . truly here's uneasy leving (living) with Pitter hou (who) is the great instrument off tiling lys (telling lies) of the servants . . . Darlen challenged Johney bieing in the Courtt on a Sondag afther Sarman, quhich (which) I think, might a bean overlooked. I hope my dear will see it needful not to give so absolutt (absolute) powr to tow lasiee ffallows (two lazy fellows) in time to come, ffor its what's non hear will ever indur (endure)."

Then came the day when the maid left! This brings us down to modern times in a hurry. How many husbands have heard the cry—"I'll never be able to get another maid like her." It has been going on for hundreds of years and the end



Valentine

CAWDOR CASTLE

Cawdor Castle is presently the home of John Campbell, Earl of Cawdor and his Lady. In the lower room below the tower stands the dried-out trunk of the hawthorn tree beside which the donkey stopped in olden days when the proprietor was looking for a "sign" where to build. The tree has been there over 400 years.

There are those who would make this castle the scene of King Duncan's murder by the usurper Macbeth, but Duncan was dead and buried before this castle was ever built. In one of the rooms, called King Duncan's room, there are several drawings on the plaster wall depicting the witches on the heath as described by Shakespeare. This but perpetuates the error.

LOUDOUN CASTLE, GALSTON

Before it was burned out, Loudoun Castle was a place crammed with historic relics and records. Unfortunately all were lost. Even though the castle should be repaired at some future date the family heirlooms can never be recovered.

This was the home of John Campbell, Chancellor of Scotland at the time of the treaty of the Union with England. Tradition has it that the treaty was signed under the old yew tree on the left of the picture.



is not in sight. This is the maid problem as it was experienced in Scotland in 1710 by Margaret Campbell:

"I must tell you, this morning quhen (when) at five my nurz (nurse) was to wacken (waken) the two wimmen they wear both run away in the night tiam, and laft the dour open. I know no rizon (reason) but edellnies (idleness) the won not able to dow (do) aney thing, the other not willing. The chamer mad (chamber maid) lost me a par off shets (pair of sheets) the furst waching (washing) I wached with her and I always bed (bade) her look about the folks that wached by her, but in shortt, I am laft destuid (left destitute)."

James, in the usual man's way, replied in a letter which we will not bother to quote that he thought it best to let the help go on their way even though a fee had been paid for securing them. Considerable correspondence ensued on the subject, since it seems that the women were suspected of stealing several things which Margaret was determined to recover. Also, it seems that after the women left certain gossip became known in which the Mistress of the establishment was put in a bad light. She was accused of not feeding the servants properly. When she wrote to James again she was hopping mad, as this shows:

"My Dear, you writ, it is not good management to part with servants; you may remember I allways thought so. As for the wimmen, if my coming to toun can secur them (secure them) I'll chous (choose) to walk it rather than not gett them. For proof they have taken the spoun their runing away will dow (do) it. . . . Wie can be no more in the mouth of pipell (people) than wie ar by this wimmen, hou (who) told here thay wear starved. As for geting wimmen hear, thar is not such a thing. The Lady Betheyck this night hes (has) bean hear and tels me how she argys (argues) with som folks. My dear confourd (comfort) come home."

Then came the day when James could see the end of his mission. Playfully he warned her of the meeting. What traveling

The Loudoun Campbells stem from a union of the Crawford and Campbell families. On the Campbell side the line comes down from the Great Cailein Mor and on the Crawford side from Hugh Crawford of Loudoun whose family long held the office of Sheriff of Ayr—later a Campbell office after the two families combined.

John Campbell, first Earl of Loudoun, was closely associated with the Great Marquis of Argyll during the reigns of the Charleses. In 1641 he was appointed Chancellor of Scotland and was president of the session that proclaimed Charles II King. When Cromwell came to power he singled out this particular Campbell and his son as unworthy of pardon by the Commonwealth. This John Campbell was the grandfather of James (Jemmy) Campbell, who rode so effectively at the head of his cavalry forces in many a pitched battle on the Continent.

The Loudoun title has the distinction of being held from time to time by the female members of the family, among these being the famous Flora, Countess of Loudoun, who in her day did so much for her Campbell cousins. The present (1946) Countess is a widow and has only daughters to succeed her. Her only son, Lord Mauchlin,¹⁰ was lost in the landing of British forces in Italy during World War II.

THE BREADALBANES "BRIZZ YONT"

A glance at the map of the Highlands brings out the canny wisdom of the Breadalbane Campbell leaders. Seven castles placed at strategic points made an armed camp of the Breadalbane territory which sprawled over the rough Highland hill land. These castles from west to east are as follows: Barcaldine, Kilchurn, Loch Dochart, Achallader, Edinample, Finlarig, and Balloch (Taymouth).

Standing as they did to the north of Argyllshire, they made a protective cover for the Campbells of the Loch Awe and Loch

¹⁰ The title often assumed by male heirs to the Loudoun estate, just as that of Lord Lorne was often assumed by the Argyll heirs.

Fyne territory, in theory at least, although when the King's forces came down upon them in 1664, under Montrose, the McDonalds went through Breadalbane's territory like water through a sieve, and gave very practical proof of their lack of regard for the Campbell fortifications by laying waste not only the Breadalbane country, but Argyllshire as well.

By following the course of the Orchy River, it is easy to see how the Breadalbane Campbells spread east and west from their central base. The placing of Balloch Castle at the mouth of Loch Tay seemed to one of the friends of the Earl of Breadalbane a misplacement of the home of this Campbell leader, but when this sentiment was expressed, Breadalbane replied, "We'll brizz yont," meaning that he proposed to move forward and enlarge his holdings even further to bring his headquarters deeper into his territory.

At one time the Earl of Breadalbane was the third largest landowner in Scotland, with almost half a million acres under his ownership. The estate was 100 miles in length and from 3 to 15 miles in width, extending in an unbroken expanse from Argyllshire to Perthshire and overlapping into each of the two counties.

The Earl had a strong following among his own people, and raised at one time two regiments numbering 2300 men, of which 1600 came from his own tenants; thus backing with his arms his political maneuvers in the Highlands.

Seldom in the expansion of the Breadalbane territory did a leader come to grief. However, the Sinclairs very effectively stopped Sir John Campbell when he tried to take over the Caithness territory by force in 1677. Even though the Earl had the full approval of the Scottish government and had defeated the Sinclair forces on the battlefield, still he could not subdue the territory. The Sinclairs and their relatives, the Gunns, would not have the Campbells over them at any price. The tenants who went along with the new order were irritated by petty depredations that could never be traced. Disorder was constant in the territory and finally the Earl was glad to trade it all off for a new title and new lands more orderly and more convenient in location.

About 1800 the old castle of Balloch was replaced by a new and magnificent building called Taymouth. In September 1842, Queen Victoria and her husband, Prince Albert, visited the Campbells in their castle and wrote:

"It was princely and romantic. There were a number of Lord Breadalbane's Highlanders all in the Campbell tartan, drawn up in front of the house, with Lord Breadalbane himself in Highland dress at their head, a few of Sir Neil Menzies' men in the Menzie red and white tartan, a number of pipers playing, and a company of the 92nd Highlanders also in kilts."

The Queen relates that the royal apartment which was placed at their disposal had, up to that time, never been occupied. Alas, for human pride—Taymouth is today a hotel, and he who has the price may tread the corridors and use the apartments formerly reserved for royalty, while the thirteen acres of formal grounds, which the castle boasted, now are used as a commercial asset and not simply a delightful diversion for the nobility.

With it all, the Breadalbane Campbells did their full share in helping to forward the interests of the family and the Empire. Without the Breadalbane branch, the Campbell family would never have made the progress that is theirs.

THE BONNIE HOUSE O'AIRLIE

From "The Great Marquess"

by John Willcox

It fell on a day, and a bonnie summer-day,
When green grew aits and barley,
That there fell out a great dispute
Between Argyll and Airlie.

Argyll has raised an hunder men,
An hunder harness'd rarely;
And he's awa' by the back o' Dunkeld,
To plunder the castle o' Airlie.

Lady Ogilvie looks o'er her bower window,
And O, but she looks weary,
And there she spied the great Argyll,
Come to plunder the bonnie house o' Airlie.

"Come down, come down, my Lady Ogilvie,
Come down and kiss me fairly."

"O, I wadna kiss the fause Argyll,
Though he should na leave a standing stane in Airlie."

He has taken her by the left shoulder,
Says, "Dame, where lies thy dowry?"
"O, it's east and west yon wan water-side,
And it's down by the banks o' the Airlie."

They hae sought it up, they hae sought it down,
They hae sought it maist severely;
Till they fand it in the fair plum-tree,
That stands on the bowling-green o' Airlie.

He has ta'en her by the middle sae sma',
And O, but she grat sairly!
And he's set her down by the bonnie burnside,
Till they plundered the castle o' Airlie.

"O, I hae seven braw sons," she says:
"The youngest ne'er saw his daddie,
But though I had an hundred maie,
I gie them a' to King Charlie!"

"But gin my gude lord had been at hame,
As this nicht he is wi' Charlie,
There durst na a Campbell in a' the west,
Hae plunder'd the bonnie house o' Airlie."

According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* the recital herein of the burning of the House of Airlie is far-fetched in various particulars. Lady Ogilvie had already left the place some time before its destruction, while the actual burning was done not by Argyll, but by Dugald Campbell of Inverawe, who had been enjoined "you need not let know that you have directions from me to fire it." Willcock points out that probably the

smooth and poetical sound of the word Airlie had much to do with the long remembrance of the incident. This is probably true. Paul Revere's Ride would be a minor incident in American history had not Longfellow glorified it; while Sherman's reputation as a general has been augmented and kept green in both the North and the South through emotions aroused by *Marching Through Georgia*.

THE CAMPBELLS ARE COMING

The Campbells are coming o-ho, o-ho!
The Campbells are coming o-ho!
The Campbells are coming to bonnie Lochleven
The Campbells are coming o-ho, o-ho!

Upon the Lomonds I lay, I lay;
Upon the Lomonds I lay;
I lookit down to bonnie Lochleven
And saw three perches play.

Great Argyle he goes before;
He makes the cannons and guns to roar;
With sound o' trumpet, pipe and drum;
The Campbells are coming o-ho, o-ho!

The Campbells they are a' in arms,
Their loyal faith and truth to show,
With banners rattling in the wind;
The Campbells are coming, o-ho, o-ho.

The difficulty of tracing the origin of this Highland song is but another example of the manner in which the mists of time have settled to obscure much of the history of ancient days. The Scots Peerage states that this tune was first played during the time of the invasion of the Sinclair country in the late 1600's. The wording used at that time was in derision of the breeches-wearing Sinclairs, who were Lowlanders and did not wear the kilt.

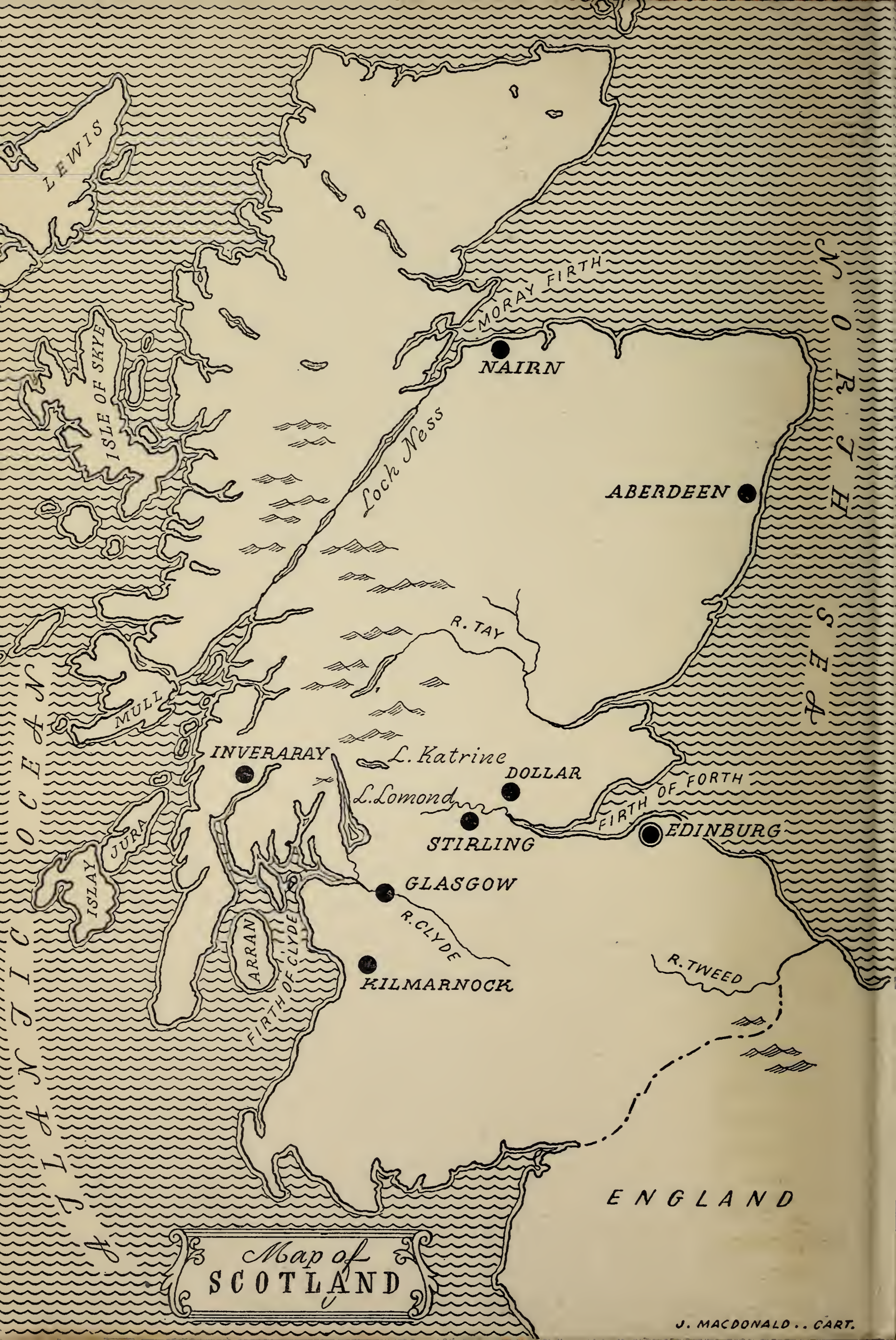
The Merriam-Webster Unabridged Dictionary says it is "A

Scottish War Song composed in 1715 when the Stuart supporters rose against George I." Other authorities support this view.

Says Perry A. Scholes in the *Oxford Companion to Music*:

"This popular Scottish tune first appeared in print in 1745, at which time it was used as a country dance under the title Hob and Nob, but about the same period it is found with its present title. There are many contradictory statements of its origin. The folksong authority Frank Kidson thought there might be truth in the story that it was used as the gathering tune of the Clan Campbell during the Scots rebellion of 1715."

It should be remembered that in 1715 the Campbells were divided and served both with and against the Jacobites. The general weight of evidence would indicate the Breadalbane Campbells as the originators of the tune and the time as somewhere around 1700. It is one of the few Highland tunes with vitality sufficient to carry beyond its native heath, and probably the only one generally known outside Scotland.



LEWIS

ISLE OF SKYE

MORAY FIRTH

NAIRN

Loch Ness

ABERDEEN

R. TAY

INVERARAY

L. Katrine

DOLLAR

L. Lomond

STIRLING

FIRTH OF FORTH

EDINBURG

GLASGOW

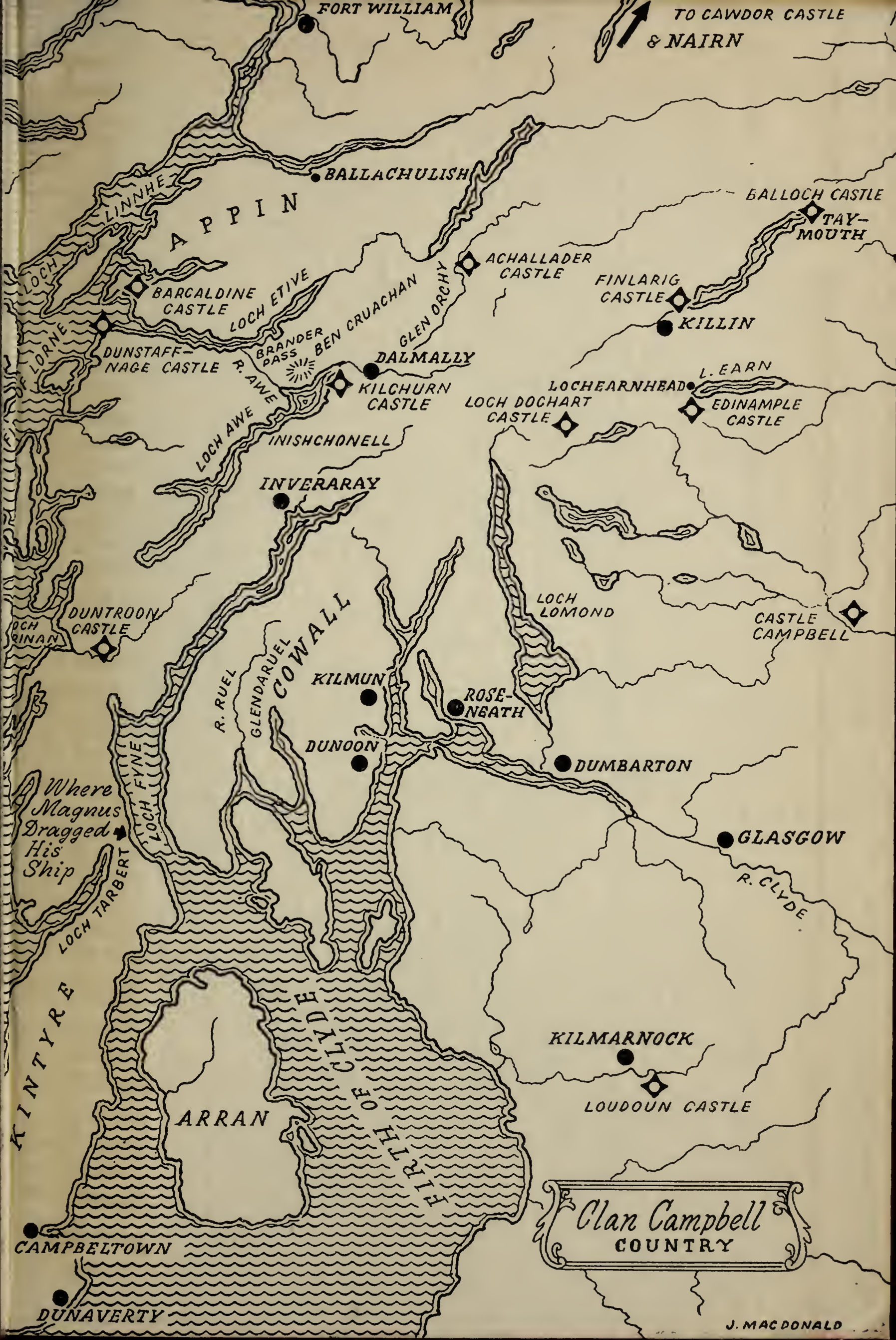
R. CLYDE

KILMARNOCK

R. TWEED

ENGLAND

Map of
SCOTLAND



Clan Campbell
COUNTRY

